PO Box 295
Olympia, WA 98507

THURSTON COUNTY

Second Anniversary Issue!

Vol. 3, No. 1 May 1992

Recycled Paper

US Post Paid
Bulk Mail
Permit #376
Olympia, WA

...RKS IN PROGRESS

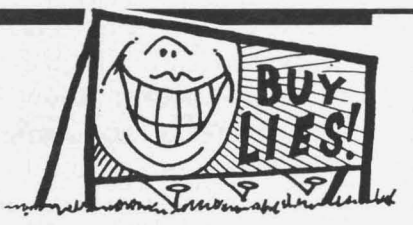
"Freedom of the press is limited to those who own one." A.J. Liebling

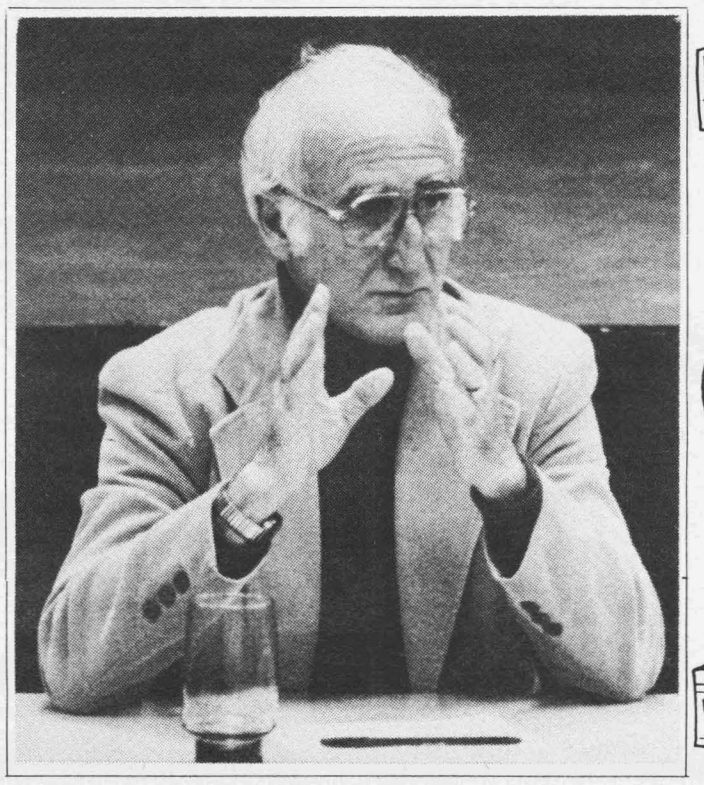
Free

Jimmy Mateson

Ben Bagdikian

The Media And People's Right To Know





What do you think of as MEDIA when "the media" is referred to? Newspapers, radio and television come to most peoples' minds. Yet the term "media" is much more inclusive. Movies, magazines, books (including textbooks), music, entertainment, billboards, art, telephone calls, junk mail, posters, bumperstickers, T- shirts with designs, games like Trivial Pursuit etc., even sports, are media. The educational system itself acculturates young citizens as a form of media, with each grades' curricula being conveyed as surely as a daily paper.

When we look at how people become informed, learn about things, and form opinions, it becomes apparent that our input comes, if not from other people or direct experience, from "media." Much of the basis by and from which "we the people" learn about the world around us is being concentrated in fewer and fewer non-accountable, private, corporate structures. (This trend is going on even as the very potential for decentralized media production and distribution is increasing.)

Non-democratic media means, in effect, that those who control current media structures are largely able to manage public opinion. With the overlapping of economic and government interests, either to guide consumer tendencies or to "justify" political policies with "public support", control over what people do and do not learn critically affects a peoples' ability to govern themselves.

Democracy may or may not be able to serve a populace when it comes to this question. In an economically expensive environment, "freedom of speech" seems not to be enough to ensure justice for all. One thing does seem clear in this regard: People do have the Right to Know. It may help if that right were codified, as in a Constitutional Amendment, but it seems obvious that we have the right to know the truth.

If you don't like what your government is doing, realize that the "fourth estate" is tied into our political landscape as heavily as the judicial, executive or legislative branches. This reality needs to be acknowledged and addressed if the people are to gain any real control of the government's doings.

. . . those who control current media structures are largely able to manage public opinion.

Few people are more qualified to speak to this subject of how the current media situation in America affects our access to ideas and options as is Ben Bagdikian.

Bagdikian is a former dean of the University of California at Berkeley's prestigious Graduate School of Journalism. He is the author of several books, a Pulitzer Prize-winning reporter and one of the nation's preeminent media critics. Some of the best reporters and editors in the country say he's influenced, and often changed, the course of their professional lives.

He warns that "a shrinking number of large media corporations now regard monopoly, oligopoly and historic levels of profits as not only normal, but as their earned right. In the process, the usual democratic expectations for the media - diversity of ownership and ideas - have disappeared as the goal of official policy and, worse, as the daily experience of a generation of American readers and viewers." "Our present communications and our present politics are dangerously one-way, with the body politic placed in the role of passive recipients. We need ways to make this relationship closer to a two-way channel."

Ben Bagdikian will be speaking at the Capitol Theater on Sunday, May 3rd, at 7pm. Tickets are $5 for general admission, $2 students, and available in Olympia at Bulldog News (an excellent place to support alternative print media), Rainy Day Records on the westside and the Bookstore at TESC. The event is a benefit and membership drive for The Friends of The Evergreen State College Library, a group actively working to serve the community's information needs by supporting an excellent library resource. Ben Bagdikian's 7pm presentation, along with question and answer session will be video and audiotaped for future broadcast on TCTV and KAOS. Independent videography is also encouraged.

At 9:30 that night, following the presentation, there will be a 60 minute black & white documentary film titled "I.F.Stone's Weekly". About the life of Izzy Stone, (1907-1989) the maverick muckraking journalist who wrote his now-legendary weekly in the fifties, sixties and seventies, this film shows Stone at his bracing, contentious best, serving the public as an antidote to government misinformation on everything from nuclear testing to the Vietnam war.

Instead of media that does not well serve the cause of justice and truth, imagine a transformed media; one that offers us a window into the private intersection of government and the corporate world; one that takes us to far reaches of the planet and reveals the devastating effects of market aggression, as well as the fantastic result of people banding together and instituting changes such as Sweden's no-nuke policy or ElSalvador's Peace Accords.

We don't need to rely entirely on our imagination; there is the seed of this transformed media in our already existing alternative media. Further, there are projects such as **Deep Dish TV**, which is an up and running alternative television satellite broadcasting station soliciting, collecting and beaming high quality publicly produced videography to local access cable TV stations for years now.

Ralph Nader refers to 'mainstream media' as 'corporate media', and 'alternative media' as 'public media'. His organization is conducting a project right now called **Audience Network**, a plan to return one hour of prime time TV and radio broadcasting time back to its rightful owners- the people. By challeng-

(Continued on back page.)

Manning Marable - Along the Color Line — Page 4
Referendum Vote In South Africa — Page 5
History Of Black Labor Movement — Page 6
Channel One And Critical Thought — Page 7
In Reply To Media & Political Apathy — Pages 8,9
A Memoir Daily Dives In Dumpsters — Page 10
Cain Road Association Opposes Development — Page 13
Music Policy And Olympia's Police — Page 14

WIP Responds

As a general matter of policy WIP has not considered the operations of Works In Progress to be news or even of interest to readers. On only a few occasions have we had to break that rule as we will now.

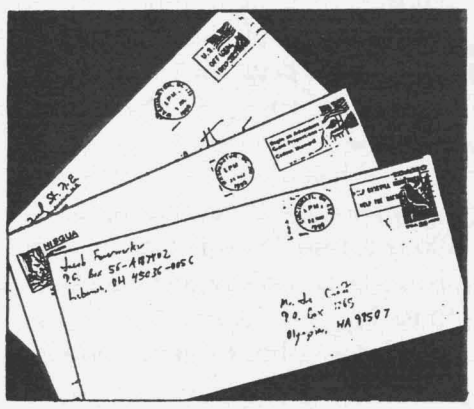
Beginning last fall there had been an uneasy situation existing in the Works In Progress staff: two members had developed an antagonistic relationship with each other. In February, the animosity had grown to such proportions that it threatened the production of the March issue just days before it was to go to press. One individual left and the other was told to "take a vacation." This is not considered a permanent condition and they are welcome to return after a couple of months as long as they agree to operate in a respectful and non-abusive manner toward others.

This was not an easy decision to make and one staff member in particular suffered the responsibility of handling this situation.

We had originally chosen not to make the above information public in respect to the two individuals. However, because one of the individuals opted to go public, as is his right, we decided to print this brief explanation of our actions.

Workers In Progress

Letters



Lane Loves "Free Press"

To the Editor:

Congratulations. Your recent actions have insured that the Evergreen Free Press is the pre-eminent free speech progressive publication in Thurston County.

Sincerely, Harold Lane

Krupey Appalled

To the Editor and Staff of WiP:

Quoting from your March 1992 issue (V.2,#10):

"We are appalled that in the 1990's, a political McCarthyism still can emanate from those who purport to protect the public interest, while actually assaulting those who do not fit their moral litmus test of politics and 'social responsibility'" (p.5,col.3, paragraph 2). Do these words remind you of anything other than the incident described in the article in which they appear? What about these words, which appear twice on page 10, once as a boxed quote to emphasize its importance:

*"Not only were all dissidents removed from any leadership positions previously held, but many were prevented even from attending the convention as elected delegates."

The first quote is aimed at a right-wing senator, the second at the US Communist Party; the irony is that these self-righteous condemnations apply equally to yourselves for your purging of Matt Love, who apparently didn't pass your moral litmus test for political correctness and failed to conform to *somebody's* idea of 'social responsibility'. So, like the dissidents of the CPUSA, he was removed from his editorial position and prevented from even attending the meeting where he was tried and found guilty--in absentia--of Thoughtcrimes by your own little Star Chamber. And you have the gall to decry the same sort of cowardly, repressive tactics in others! Have you no shame, no integrity, no coherency of values? I guess not; otherwise you wouldn't be able to print your hypocritical drivel.

It's amazing how everyone loves a gadfly when he's stinging the other side, but see how quickly so-called progressives turn reactionary whenever they suffer a few well-deserved stings too! If being able to tolerate heresy and swallow pride in the face of deserved criticism is the sign of an enlightened mind and humanistic philosophy, then you people at WiP failed miserably. Instead you reacted with screaming intolerance and rabid fanaticism, declaring Matt to be literally insane and "incompetent"--are you self-appointed medical and psychiatric authorities as well as moral and political ones? "Self-destructive tendencies", "paranoid, delusional fantasies"--are you sure you're not all *projecting*? I guess Matt was lucky that he was allowed to leave without being confined in a straight jacket. Mighty decent of you.

This whole affair is very ludicrous, like a Monty Python parody of Stalinism, which for all your yammering about freedom, justice, compassion, and other devalued (in your hands) icons, is now revealed as the true ideology that you aspire to, whether you admit it or not. I don't see you offering any real alternative to the spectre of right-wing suffocation. Hopefully none of you will ever acquire real political power, but will stay in the marginal world of wannabe revolutionaries, where you can't do much real damage.

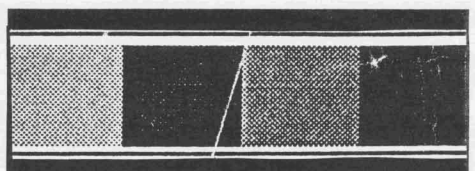
In closing, you would all do well to ponder the words of Virginia Proctor in your article on the CPUSA:

"How did we lose our courage among our comrades?....Something corrupts those who would entrench themselves in an organization, any organization. I don't say that it's inevitable; I just say it's a reality."

Get back in touch with reality, WiPsters. We don't need another betrayed revolution.

G. J. Krupey

Judy Bari, Earth First! and IWW organizer
will be singing and speaking at
The Evergreen State College
Friday, May 15, 1992
Lecture Hall 1
7:30 pm
No Charge
Bari was permanently disabled when a bomb exploded under her driver's seat in 1990. She will be speaking about her lawsuit against the FBI, Oakland Police, and Special Agent Richard held for mishandling and refusing to investigate the assassination attempt.
For more information call Heather at 866-6000 ext. 6784.



An Israeli General Speaks for Peace

Matti Peled
Chair of the Israeli Council for Israeli-Palestinian Peace since 1975 and former Member of Knesset for the Progressive List for Peace from 1984-88.
May 12 - 8 pm
UW Kane 220
for more information call 284-3429

Anti-Discrimination Clause

Works in Progress is considering a proposal I have submitted to establish an anti-discrimination clause that would govern the paper. The proposed clause is taken from the *Olympia Food Co-op Newsletter*, which enacted its own anti-discrimination clause in February of this year. While discussions amongst the Workers in Progress at *Works in Progress* made apparent our own comfort with the proposed clause, we thought it best to allow the paper's readers a chance to examine, ponder and remark upon the clause before it became enacted as the policy of the paper. Please read over the proposed anti-discrimination clause printed below and let us know your thoughts soon. It is the goal of *Works In Progress* to be an open forum for all voices in our community, but at the same time, it is also the goal of *Works in Progress* not to perpetuate hatred. Still, we recognize that, as human beings, we are at best prone to making mistakes. This clause is intended as a check against our propensity to err, so that *Works in Progress* might continue toward its goal in spite of us.

"*Works in Progress* will not publish articles, graphics or advertising which contain or reflect harmful stereotypes or assumptions based on race, gender, sexual preference, age, body image, class, mental or physical abilities, religion, nationality or species."

Zachary D. Lyons

HELP WANTED!!!

Works In Progress desperately needs your help. We are seeking a dedicated individual(s) to donate three hours of her/his/their time on the last Friday of the month to take the paper to Shelton to be printed. If you can assist us please contact Chris or Pat at 956- 9123.

Join The Youth Of The World Rising To Build A Healthier Planet

Youth for Environmental Sanity

May 11th 7:00 to 9:00
7:00 - 8:00 Vegetarian Potluck
8:00 - 9:00 Presentation

Hotel Olympia Ballroom
Legion and Washington
Above Urban Onion Restaurant

Minimum $4 donation goes to EarthSave Olympia and Y.E.S. Tour

To Educate, Inspire, and Empower

An EarthSave Olympia Presentation
For more information call 357-8779.

In The Works . . .

Hit the lights! This is WIP's second anniversary issue. Two years ago we only could see as far as the next issue. Now it seems amazing how much time has passed and how much we have learned and grown. And one big lesson we keep learning over and over again is that WIP isn't our paper, it's yours. Thanks to all of you who have supported WIP in so many ways.

Without input from the community WIP would be largely empty pages. Over the past year, WIP has brought to Olympia opinions and information on a wide range of topics. Pridefully, notifying and reflecting the community's thoughts on social justice issues, WIP represents an alternative view to the mainstream media. It is a community journal, recording the opinions and events held by and involving community members.

The organization is all volunteer run and works without a hierarchy. Ownership is held by you in the community; we are merely your workers. WIP is a forum, a community voice if you will, and the workers are the air that carries the sound of that voice. The more participation the community gives, the louder the voice will get. Then serious attention will be given to our community by everyone.

You can join in too and help this voice reach its peak. You can play an important part in this. You can write articles both on new issues or in response to someone else's article. This will stimulate dialogue which facilitates understanding. You can also get involved in the production end and learn all about the paper business. You can learn PageMaker and layout and lots of other stuff. We have need for special writing projects if you like and distribution assistance if you can. The list goes on and on.

Here's to another successful year!

Sylvia Smith and Pat Tassoni

What follows are comments made by Workers In Progress in response to the question "What does *Works In Progress* mean to you?"

WIP is an education, WIP is community, WIP is diverse groups & individuals sharing ideas to create social change, WIP is supportive of local & family-owned businesses and best of all, WIP serves great food at their summer picnics!

Barb Bellettiere

The idea of *Works in Progress* for me is that people can express themselves as they evolve. Rather than waiting to get a piece of writing perfect, I can share some of my ideas, then as I learn more, I can refine and fill out an idea later. An article doesn't have to be perfect to be printed in WIP. That way we can dialogue with others. My belief is that we are always "in process" and we can't wait for "an end" to share our knowledge.

Pat Holm

For me, *Works In Progress* gives a voice to the community.

Kendra Jennings

For me, WIP is hard work, a good time, and a rewarding experience. I am rewarded by the continual learning.

Teresa Jennings

Works In Progress means a lot to me. In itself it's valuable as the journal of the local Rainbow Coalition, but it has succeeded in standing on its own as an alternative information /opinion source. Open to everyone, it provides a forum for poor people, minorities, gays/lesbians, the differently-abled and everyone else not served by local media. WIP makes people think, discuss and act.

Jerome Johnson

Works In Progress gives concrete expression to Theologian Reinhold Neibuhr's conception of "Moral Man, Immoral Society." Individually well meaning and sincere people, they collectively have embodied the Leninist conception of the radical intelligentsia as the vanguard of social progress, attempting to exploit popular struggles to gain institutional power.

Matt Love

The name *Works in Progress* reminds us that life is an unfinished product, and that the goal of this paper is to try to help move our quality of life forward. . .to help it progress. At the same time it reminds us that we, and the paper, are never finished products, and that we should temper our expectations accordingly.

Zachary D. Lyons

I believe in social awareness and social action. Persons having community or wider concerns can get the facts and share the information in WIP. Others become involved. Sometimes real changes result. We also enjoy applauding people who have challenged the status quo -- but you win some and lose some.

Evelyn Montague

Works In Progress provides an opportunity to give fuller meaning to our community. It is dedication, commitment, enthusiasm, inspiration, vision, sincerity. . . . Thanks for reading *Works In Progress*. After reading, complete the cycle, and send us a letter and pass the word to a friend.

Chris Russo

Products of wealth for satisfying human needs and unlimited desires can only be produced by maintaining **works in progress** by labor working on land, and on products of land. Poverty results from landowners accumulating wealth and capital produced by labor without contributing any **works in progress** in exchange.

Marvin Saillard

Works In Progress means to me. I have met a number of people with new and refreshing outlooks on old problems who give me courage.

Marie Smith

I am continually amazed that this group actually functions *without* hierarchy. There are disagreements and sometimes even disaster, yet things are picked back up, WIP is better for it and everyone a little wiser.

I love these folks, they *really* are wonderful people.

Sylvia Smith

WIP is a on-going search for answers to questions like: What's on your mind? Why is *that* the way it is? How can we effect change? And possibly more important: How long can I go without sleep? and Could we maybe schedule yet another meeting?

Pat Tassoni

Doublespeak

ANSWERS TO 1991 DOUBLESPEAK QUIZ IN APRIL 1992 ISSUE OF *WIP*.

1. N; 2. I; 3. M; 4. C; 5. O; 6. G; 7. N; 8. L; 9. R; 10. D; 11. J; 12. K; 13. T; 14. S; 15. H; 16. U; 17. E; 18. Q; 19. V; 20. F; 21. A; 22. B; 23. P

Answers found within the text of the January 1992 issue of the **Quarterly Review of Doublespeak**, ©1992 by, and available for $8 annually from, the National Council of Teachers of English, 1111 Kenyon Road, Urbana Il 61801. Reprinted with permission.

WORKERS IN PROGRESS

Dave Campbell	Pat Tassoni
Pat Holm	Al Zimmerman
Evelyn Montague	Katharine Dawdy
Marie Smith	Kirsten Holm
Teresa Jennings	Jerome Johnson
Chris Russo	Zachary D. Lyons
Sylvia Smith	Marvin Saillard

Works In Progress is a community newspaper sponsored by the Thurston County Rainbow Coalition. Opinions expressed do not necessarily reflect those of the Rainbow Coalition or the WIP Editorial Board and are solely those of the authors.

Keep those letters and cards coming. Correspondence and articles are always welcome. If possible submit articles on disk (WordPerfect). WIP reserves the right to publish in whole or part all submissions; so for editing purposes please enclose your phone number. Send submissions to Works in Progress, PO Box 295, Olympia, WA 98507.

Update: Folgers, Salvadoran Coffee Boycott Over!!!

Zachary D. Lyons

Neighbor to Neighbor announced on March 19 the end of its boycott of Salvadoran coffee in general, and of Procter and Gamble's Folgers coffee in particular, in recognition of progress made toward the implementation of the Salvadoran peace accords signed on January 16. The boycott of coffee from El Salvador began in November of 1989, after the murder of six Jesuit priests and their housekeepers by Salvadoran military officers. While the end of the boycott marks significant progress towards peace in El Salvador, Neighbor to Neighbor recognizes that peace in El Salvador is a fragile commodity. Therefore, Neighbor to Neighbor announced it will press for full implementation of the peace accords through a *Salvador Watch* campaign that will include pressing Congress to end all military aid to El Salvador and to direct aid to demobilization and development that aids the poor majority; pressuring U.S. coffee companies to assist the grassroots coffee cooperatives in El Salvador as a key step for economic recovery; and organizing a *Salvador Watch* group that would visit El Salvador and press President Cristiani to assure the full implementation of the accords.

"The Folgers coffee boycott has been a very successful consumer boycott that has moved Procter and Gamble from a position of 'no responsibility' for the repression in El Salvador to one of taking significant steps for peace, such as the full-page ads in Salvadoran Newspapers they took out calling on both sides to negotiate a just end to the war," said Neighbor to Neighbor. "The response of U.S. coffee companies together with the Longshoreman's West Coast blockade put crucial and timely pressure on the Salvadoran right to agree to the historic peace accords signed in Mexico City."

Many of the major brands of coffee, including Folgers, Maxwell House, General Foods International, MJB and Hills Brothers are produced by companies, like Procter and Gamble, Nestle and Philip Morris, that continue to be boycotted for other reasons. *The Boycott Monthly* plans to feature boycotts of Procter and Gamble and Nestle in the next few months.

The Boycott Monthly *is published by the Center for Economic Democracy, PO Box 64, Olympia, WA 98507. ©1992 CED*

HOMEWORK CO.
Home Maintenance
Beautiful Handmade
WORM BOX COMPOSTERS $55
for your waste reduction & gardening needs.
27.5" x 20" x 17"
Robin Healy **943-2318**

Along the Color Line

Closing The Book On Apartheid?

Dr. Manning Marable

Last month, white South Africans voted to negotiate an end to white minority by a vote of more than two to one. In an unprecedented turnout exceeding 80 percent, the white electorate gave its consent to sharing power with Nelson Mandela's African National Congress and other nonwhite political forces. The referendum was a victory for South African President F.W. de Klerk and the ruling National Party. As de Klerk declared, "Today we have closed the book on apartheid--and that chapter is finally closed."

The bitter irony for South African blacks is that all of de Klerk's promises and reforms have done nothing to reduce their economic and social oppression.

The referendum was held in a background of intense social crisis. Throughout the 1980s, international sanctions against the apartheid regime and domestic protests by Africans disrupted the nation's economy. Thousands of white professionals and workers lost their jobs as European and American firms scaled back or eliminated their investments in the country. By the early 1990s, the economic crisis had hit rural areas, as the worst drought in a century severely reduced agricultural production. For the first time in their lives, the many privileges and comforts which the majority of South African whites had taken for granted began to disappear.

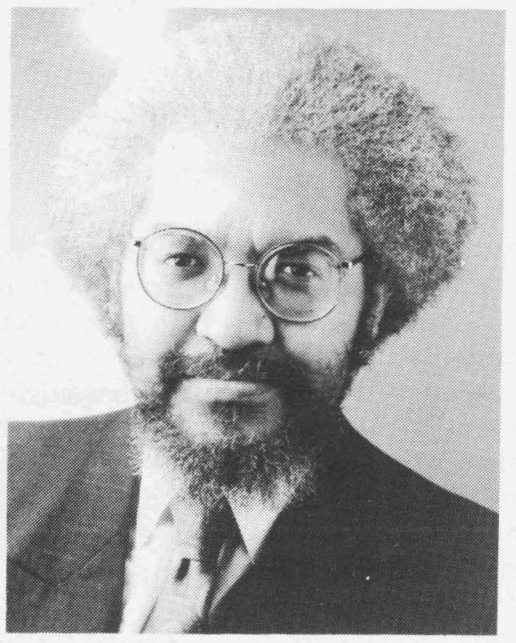
President de Klerk's strategy was to convince fearful and frustrated whites that their interests could be protected under a multiracial democracy based on capitalism. During the referendum debate, de Klerk insisted that extending voting rights to blacks would not mean the termination of white authority. A new constitution would provide checks and balances limiting the majority power of the black electorate. A devolution of the central government's authority to regional states would also be used to safeguard whites' rights. In effect, de Klerk called for the government's economic enterprises to be transferred into the private hands of white capitalists, while permitting blacks to gain votes within a weakened political system. One would still have white power without legal apartheid.

Whites also voted "yes" because they began convinced that disastrous consequences awaited if the referendum failed. The Johannesburg financial newspaper *Business Day* warned that "a right-wing victory" by the referendum's opponents "will stop investment and economic growth, and bring a crime wave no government could handle." The South African Council of Churches declared that a "no" vote would lead "to civil war."

Mandela and the African National Congress recognized de Klerk's scheme to maintain white authority without a formal apartheid system, but their options against him were severely limited. There was no choice except to support de Klerk's referendum against those white reactionaries who opposed any negotiations with blacks. "If whites make a mistake and vote for repression," Mandela warned, "the country is in for a hard time."

Despite the referendum's approval, white opposition to a nonwhite majority government remains substantial. To the right of de Klerk is the Conservative Party, which deplored the referendum for "selling whites out." Conservatives call for a return to apartheid and the establishment of a "white homeland."

Even further to the right is the openly fascist Afrikaner Resistance Movement, a paramilitary terrorist group. Movement leader Eugene TerreBlanche calls for total racial warfare against blacks. "If we have to deal with them," TerreBlanche declares, "then it will be over the barrel of a gun." Many white police and military officers are sympathetic with the Conservatives and the Afrikaner Resistance Movement.



The bitter irony for South African blacks is that all of de Klerk's promises and reforms have done nothing to reduce their economic and social oppression. More than seven million blacks still live in shanty towns, dwelling in houses without running water, heat or electricity. Black schools are overcrowded and are inferior to whites' schools. blacks' incomes are only a tiny fraction of whites' salaries. Real democracy is empowerment, and de Klerk is bitterly opposed to fundamental changes which will actually transform the inferior status of black people.

Nelson Mandela understands: "Ending apartheid is not just announcing the results of a referendum. It means there should be enough houses, more medical facilities and better pensions for blacks. We are still far from this." We might be ending one chapter of racial oppression, but another long text awaits in the struggle for black freedom.

Dr. Manning Marable is Professor of Political Science and History, University of Colorado, Boulder. "Along the Color Line" appears in over 230 newspapers internationally and a radio version is broadcast by over 50 stations throughout North America.

Educators Against Racism and Apartheid Call For Boycott on Kellogg's Products

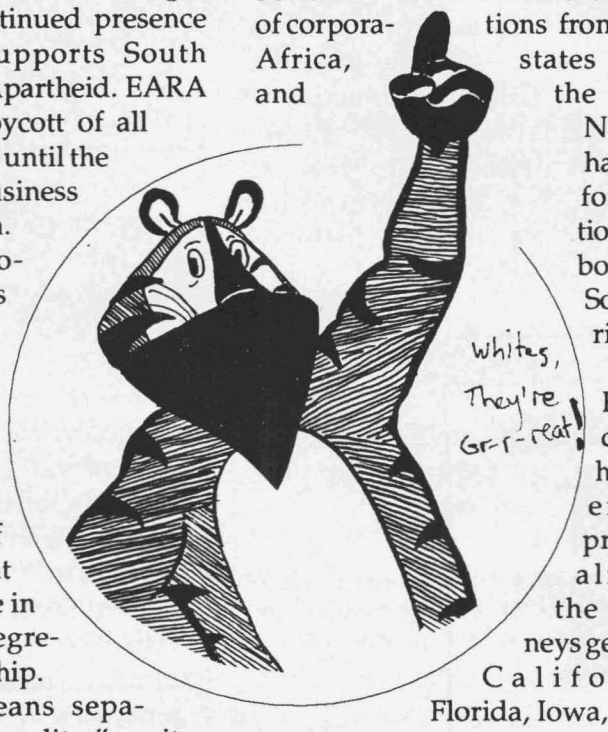
Zachary Lyons

The Kellogg Company has been doing business in South Africa since 1949, and Educators Against Racism and Apartheid (EARA) charges that Kellogg's continued presence there directly supports South Africa's system of Apartheid. EARA is calling for a boycott of all Kellogg's products until the company cuts its business ties to South Africa.

Kellogg's produces cereals at its factory in Springs, South Africa, where it employs 278 workers, 207 of whom are Black. EARA reports that most of the Black workers at Kellogg's must live in Kwa Thema, a segregated Black township.

"Apartheid means separateness and inequality," writes EARA. "Apartheid conditions are as follows: Black people must carry an identity pass; Black people are restricted as to where they can live, work and travel; Millions of Black people have been forced to move to Bantustans where the land is poor and jobs are scarce; There is one doctor for every 45,000 Black people - there is one doctor for every 330 white people; One half of all Black children die before the age of five; Black people cannot vote - white people can; Black people must pay for school and books - they are free for white people."

The African National Congress (ANC) and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) have called for sanctions against South Africa and full divestment of corporations from South Africa, and states EARA, the United Nations has called for sanctions and a boycott of South Africa.



As if Kellogg's did not have enough problems already, the attorneys general of California, Florida, Iowa, Minnesota, Texas and Wisconsin have charged that advertisements for Frosted Flakes, Special K and 40+ Bran Flakes were deceptive and misleading, reported EARA in its January 1991 newsletter. The states are challenging Kellogg's claims that people who eat Special K will "keep the muscle, lose the fat," or that Frosted Flakes are superior to some fruits, such as apples.

Three attempts by *The Boycott Monthly* to get a response from Kellogg's to EARA's allegations have been fruitless. Because we have a signed receipt proving Kellogg's has received our request for response, we can only conclude that Kellogg's *does not* intend to respond.

"Educators Against Racism and Apartheid claims that Kellogg's is violating the request of the liberation movement in South Africa by arrogantly remaining in South Africa," wrote EARA in a recent newsletter. "Kellogg's continues to sell cereal to the South African military. Kellogg's continues to say in the propaganda sent to boycott participants that it knows what's best for the Black majority in South Africa. Kellogg's continues to pay taxes to the apartheid regime. It's workers must live in a segregated township and join segregated unions. Its workers continue to suffer from the impact of apartheid."

Educators Against Racism and Apartheid is asking that concerned individuals, schools and organizations boycott all Kellogg's products, and that they send letters to Kellogg's notifying them.

For more information, or to express your concerns, you may contact EARA or Kellogg's:

EARA
164-04 Goethals Avenue
Jamaica, NY 11432

President
Kellogg Company
One Kellogg Plaza
Battle Creek, MI 49016-3599
616-961-2000

From The Boycott Monthly.©1992 CED

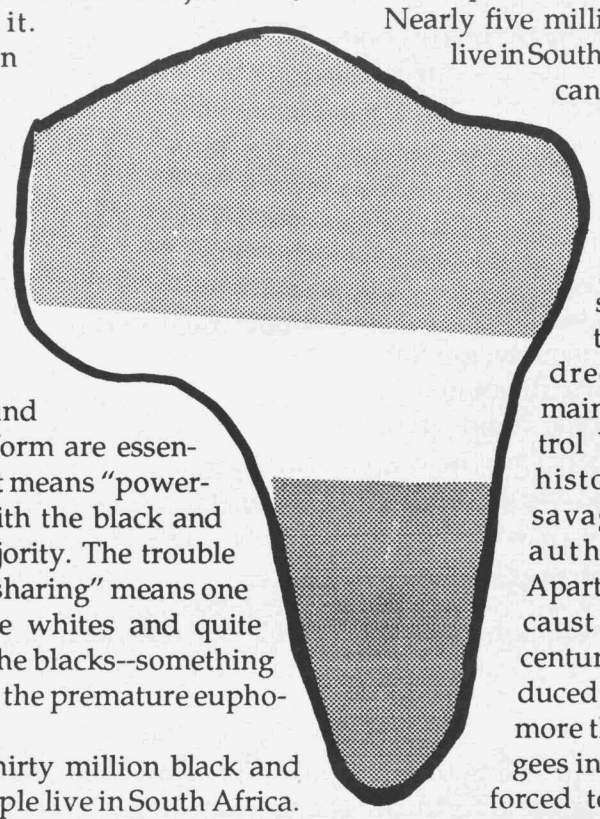
South Africa Vote
Real Deal or Raw Deal?

Jerome Johnson

"I still cannot vote in my own country."

--Nelson Mandela, April 1992

Everyone's so happy about the outcome of the recent South African reform referendum. President F.W. de Klerk staked his job on it, and kept it. More than two-thirds of the white minority (the only ones who can vote) agreed with him that social and political reform are essential even if it means "power-sharing" with the black and colored majority. The trouble is, "power-sharing" means one thing to the whites and quite another to the blacks--something obscured in the premature euphoria.



Nearly thirty million black and colored people live in South Africa. They cannot vote. They cannot create or influence public policy. Powerless in their own nation, they cannot fully participate in a rich society that would not exist save for their labor and sacrifice and blood. To these people, power-sharing means one person, one vote. It means ready access to nutrition, health care, education, civil rights, employment, decent housing, public safety and everything else the whites enjoy as citizens, at a level commensurate with the national wealth. Whites (or anyone else) would not have special privileges due to race, or economic clout, or political engineering.

Nearly five million white people live in South Africa. Only they can vote. They have had complete control of the country, its resources, wealth, government and society for more than three hundred years. They maintained that control by using one of history's harshest, savage methods of authoritarianism, Apartheid. In a holocaust that lasted for centuries the whites reduced the blacks to little more than slaving refugees in their own lands, forced to support artificially high standards of living for whites. The whites made South Africa a paradise for themselves and an unrelenting hell for blacks and colored, based on a white supremacist "covenant" with God who had "given" South Africa to the whites because they "tamed" and developed it. To them power-sharing is a reluctantly-granted safety valve to prevent all-out race war and complete loss of white power. It means permitting black and colored people the vote if necessary, and greater participation in society. But whites would still have the final say over what would happen in the "new" South Africa, and how. De Klerk reassured them of this in his campaign to pass the referendum, and it worked. When he talks about "protecting minority rights" and "prohibiting racial dominance", he's really talking about defending white supremacy and rejecting one person, one vote as the basis of a practical democracy. De Klerk and the whites, in order to preserve power as long as possible, even continue to support Inkatha's violence in the townships . This helps to keep the ANC and other organizations off-balance even as the Government delays and obstructs the process of writing a new constitution, holding elections and a peaceful exchange of power.

It was wrong of de Klerk to use this fantasy of white veto, misleading whites who supported the referendum. De Klerk should have faced the white minority with the unpleasant (for them) truth: democracy in South Africa is inevitable. About the only thing whites will have final say over is how difficult--or how bloody--the transition will be. When Mandela can vote in his own nation, then it will be time for euphoria.

When [de Klerk] talks about "protecting minority rights" and "prohibiting racial dominance", he's really talking about defending white supremacy . . .

Jerome Johnson is the host of Up Front, Wednesdays at 1 pm on KAOS. Jerome is a member of the WIP editorial board, but the opinions expressed in his article are his own. They do not necessarily reflect those of the Rainbow Coalition or the WIP editorial board.

Smithfield CAFE
OLYMPIA
TWO TWELVE WEST FOURTH AVENUE
Hours: 7-8 Weekdays, 8-8 Weekends, 786-1725

Thurston County Rainbow Coalition

General Membership

(and the folks who bring you Works In Progress)

Meeting

May 9th, 12:30 pm

First Christian Church, Seventh & Franklin, Olympia

Farmer's Wholesale Cooperative
A Farmer Owned Bargaining
FARMER'S OWN
For Certified Organic Produce
Your assurance of Premium Quality

Organically Grown:

Apricots, Asparagus, Broccoli, Bunch Carrots, Cauliflower, Celery, Leeks, Lettuce, Peaches, Potatoes, Squash, Spinach... If it grows in Washington, we sell it. We ship to wholesalers nationwide and in Canada.

Farmer's Wholesale Cooperative

Olympia, WA 98507 • (206) 754-8989

I AGREE WITH THE THURSTON COUNTY RAINBOW COALITION

A grassroots organization that works for the people the two political parties frequently ignore: peace activists, people of color, the differently-abled, union members, women, environmentalists, gays and lesbians, the homeless, the working poor, and other community people.

An organization that supports and encourages progressive electoral candidates. An organization that networks and works with others who have the same goals.

Join the Thurston County Rainbow Coalition and get involved.

Yes, I'm interested in joining the Thurston County Rainbow Coalition

❑ Enclosed is: $25; $10 low-income.

❑ Yes, I want to be involved in Rainbow activities. Give me a call.

(name) _____

(address) _____

(city) _____ (state) _____ (zip) _____

(work phone) _____ (home phone) _____

(issues of interest):

Send to: Thurston County Rainbow Coalition, P.O. Box 295, Olympia, WA 98507. For information call 459-3625 or 456-4773.

Black Labor Insurgency 1980-1992

"We Have the Power"

Paul Ortiz

From Johannesburg, South Africa to Seattle, Washington modern black labor insurgency has greatly improved the living standards of many black workers. Take Emma Mashinini. She helped build the Commercial, Catering, and allied Workers Union of South Africa (CCAWUSA). A veteran union shop steward, Mashinini began organizing CCAWUSA in 1975. Day after day, she would pass out union leaflets to black workers in their retail shops and just as doggedly, the South African police would come to rough her up and haul her off to jail--once for over seven months.

Janitors For Justice recently won a union contract at a work site in Philadelphia where the employer had made the workers (primarily people of color) buy toothbrushes to scrub toilets .

But Emma Mashinini always came back. By 1984, 80,000 workers had joined CCAWUSA. For the first time, many of these workers won access to the South African unemployment compensation system, better wages, and even maternity leave programs. By 1985, when CCAWUSA joined the Congress of South African Trade Unions, black workers in South Africa were organizing consumer boycotts, general strikes, and solidarity actions with trade unions around the world in order to make the white minority pay dearly for apartheid. As Emma Mashinini put it, "if the trade union...cannot take on the liberation of the country, who will?"

Back in the U.S., the *Justice For Janitors* (JFJ) campaign, composed heavily of African and Mexican American union organizers, has won decent contracts for 20,000 janitors and service workers. JFJ recently won a union contract at a work site in Philadelphia where the employer had made the workers (primarily people of color) buy toothbrushes to scrub toilets with. JFJ organized the support of the community by publicizing the injustices and building coalitions. The employer capitulated.

A union contract for these janitors often means going from minimum wage to $8.20 an hour and some benefits. Hardly "middle class" but a critical gain nonetheless in an era of ruthless anti-labor practices and the revolutionary growth of "part-time, temporary work" in the service industry that late capitalism thrives on.

The Labor Education and Research Center's recent conference "Rebuilding the Labor Movement: African-American Leadership in a Multi-Cultural World" brought together over 100 African-American union activists to tell their unique stories of labor and civil rights organizing.

Their stories also indicated that one of the major keys to rebuilding the labor movement in the U.S. is fighting racism. Aldo Morris, keynote speaker, and author of *The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement: Black Communities Organizing for Change* noted that throughout U.S. history, employers have used racial tensions to divide and conquer workers. Dr. Morris noted that black workers have understood this racism and have organized against it.

Geraldine Johnson, a founding member of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists (CBTU), and a conference participant, proved Dr. Morris' point. Johnson noted that one Bay Area corporation had a 35 year history of never hiring a black worker that is, until the all-white machinist's union there went on strike. Then, the employers called in black strike breakers to incite the white workers and to cut the pay scale in half. At this point, Johnson and the CBTU made a historic decision: they would walk the picket line and support the white machinists.

This solidarity inspired the hitherto all-white union to adopt a strong resolution that pledged to recruit black workers into its ranks. The CBTU's action turned the tide of the strike against the employers. To Geraldine Johnson, fighting racism was the benefit of all: white workers maintained their wage levels, and when the strike ended black workers began getting union jobs at the plant.

Gaining access to union jobs was a major theme of the conference. Alvin Whitaker, a longtime International Brotherhood of Electrical Worker's activist, stunned the white audience members by noting that in the early 70's, five major building trade unions in Seattle were 100 percent white. (Black audience members were scarcely surprised.) Whitaker, along with other African-American activists in the United Construction Workers combined legal action with direct, non-violent action in the early 70's to gain access to union jobs for black people in places like Boeing and the public utility companies.

Along with the celebrations of their past and current victories in the labor movement however, one could detect a note of frustration. Many black conference participants felt that white people are swallowing the line of conservatives and neo-liberals our current social and economic decay is somehow the fault of black people.

Like the employers who use divide and conquer strategies to cripple the labor movement, big government in the last 12 years has used and amplified racial animosities from its scandals and simultaneously gut labor laws and push privatization while beguiled white workers (and intellectuals) blame minorities for the mess.

In our own time, big government and capital seeks to create the ultimate "competitive" and "flexible" work force where every worker will be a "temporary hire." Working-class people can only stop this trend by overcoming racism and sexism and uniting in rebuilding the labor movement, and thus, the country.

Paul Ortiz is a member of the Olympia Movement for Justice and Peace, and hosts a labor issues program, Thursdays from 1-3:30 on KAOS Olympia, 89.3 FM.

roe vrs. wade or: another anti -abortion demonstration
or: the poet as murderer

they're at it again, filling the sidewalk outside my study's window
picketing back and forth, occasionally shaking an angry fist
as i sit here, somewhat cowed, somewhat pissed
at their misplaced religiosity

you see, i feel it is my right as a writer
to stop work on a poem whenever i want to, but they're out there
signs obscene in lettering: "IT'S A SIN TO STOP WRITING!!"
"PUT DOWN THE PEN AND YOU PUT DOWN LIFE!!"

they argue that i should continue typing,
that i need to carry any germinated thought
through to its ultimate completion-
why this battleground? why this easily staged cause?

don't they know that i'm a thinking person?
aren't they aware of the primate's tender hand the poet extends
towards any new cry? or how the poet knows when to let the poem
slip away with the stars at the heartbeat of a wakeful dawn?

don't they know that this is not done lightly?
that the patterns of poems lost
forever changes the comfort
of bedroom walls?

and what of my responsibility to friends and loved ones?
could they bear the cries as i phone them
with yet another
freshly delivered poem?

i notice that none of them out there
with their picket signs and coffee - none of them
are working towards making the world one
where a poem can graze freely, unfettered and wild

and does the world really need one more poem?
aren't the words crowding together as it is?
it's useless to argue with them, god knows i've tried
besides, i admit, i am a bit confused about when a poem begins

and when it is just a thought, but i do know that poets, like women
are at their best when feeling the moon's cold pull
and that it is up to them, as it is up to me
when to decide to stop

Robert Lovitt

"If pizza is an art
Jo Mamas has the brushes"
"Losing oneself in Olympia"
Sept. 21, 1987. CPJ
Jo Mamas
120 N. PEAR OLYMPIA (206) 943-9849

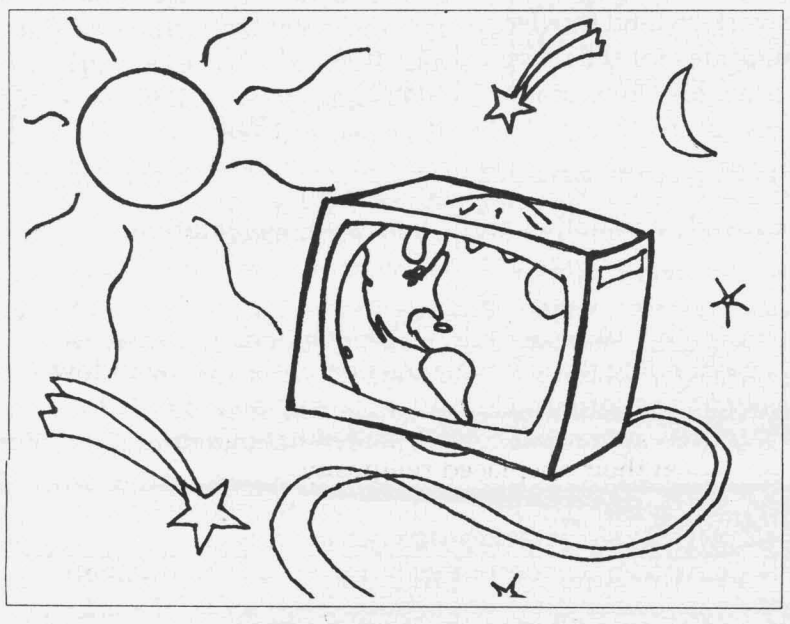
Channel One

Students Need to Learn the Skills of Critical Thought

Thomas K. Begnal

Contrary to the opening assertion of William Arney's article, "The Scandal of Commercial Television in School" in *Works In Progress*, March 1992, criticism is not so easy nowadays. Criticism of the media, whether it be MTV viewed at home or Channel One viewed in the classroom, involves "a reasoned opinion... a judgement of value, truth, righteousness, beauty, or technique". Criticism involves observation, consideration, evaluation and comparison, and that means work.

The "scandal" is not that students are being exposed to Channel One.



It is that teachers aren't investing the time and energy to encourage and teach their students to be critics. If teachers did, they would be imparting a much more important skill than the ability to memorize names and dates. We live in the information age. We are privileged to more information than any other society before us. Yet, for adults as well as children, the vast majority of this information is mediated, whether it comes in the form of television, news magazines or textbooks. Outside of our home and our neighborhood, there is very little we learn from direct observation. Yet neither our schools, our society nor the media itself invite us to question the "authoritative information" it imparts.

It is no wonder that teachers tend to ignore Channel One when it invades their classroom. At no time in their education have teachers been taught the importance or the methods of critically evaluating media, recently termed "media literacy". The good news is that while it involves effort, media literacy can be rewarding and exciting. It can involve otherwise disinterested students in a form of communication they feel comfortable with. Any student knows they watch more television than their teacher. All you need to do is ask them to consider what they are watching.

An easy way to use Channel One is simply to ask the students what they think of the program they just watched. What do they think was the point? Which segments did they like and why? What tricks did the producers use to influence their thinking? Testing students' comprehension of the information presented is not the point. The key questions should be how much information is or is not included and how is it presented, what response, reaction or emotion does it evoke, how it performs and whether it succeeds in its intended goal. If there is controversy or difference of opinion, rewind the tape and view it again to determine what it said and how it said it. There is nothing more demystifying than scrutinizing a video several times.

Students need to be reminded that seeing is not believing. There is always much more left out of a video than is included. Media productions are constructions made by a certain group of people with a certain point of view and a certain motivation for presenting that point of view. Visual media invariably presents more sensation than information. It persuades its audience with a mixture of subtle techniques, including background music, lighting, camera angle, rhythmic pacing and juxtaposition of images. Isolating these elements and comparing their appearance in different segments allows students to feel more savvy and encourages them to become more critical viewers. It is important that teachers foster this sense of capability by letting the students decide how media affects them. There is nothing so sure to stifle inquiry than a hyper-critical adult telling them that their favorite television show is trash.

I was surprised to read that Channel One presented a segment on the representation of teenage boys on television and puzzled that Bill Arney considered it absurd.

Any student knows they watch more television than their teacher. All you need to do is ask them to consider what they are watching.

What better way to get students interested in examining media representation than a subject so dear to their hearts - themselves? Once they begin questioning media's portrayal of one social group, it is a natural next step to consider the representation of others: women, minorities, the poor, the enemy. To me this is the most significant purpose of media literacy.

Critical thinking may not be easy, but it is worth the effort. And it is getting easier. There are numerous publications: newsletters, books, and classroom guides, and a growing number of organizations ready to support teachers who are inclined to learn. One of the best introductory books is *The Media Studies Book: A Guide for Teachers* (David Lusted, Routledge 1991). *Media Literacy Resource Guide* is a comprehensive curriculum guide appropriate for high school students published by Ministry of Education, Ontario, Canada. The guide is available from the Association for Media Literacy, 40 McArthur, Weston, Ontario, Can. M9P3M7. The AML also provides other curriculum guides, resource materials and sponsors workshops and conferences. Membership and their newsletter costs $20 (Canadian).

The leading United States media literacy group is Strategies for Media Literacy, 1095 Market St., San Francisco, Ca. 94103 (415) 621-2911. Their membership and quarterly newsletter is only $10 for teachers. They have published *Media & You: An Elementary Media Literacy Curriculum* which makes media education fun and easy for pupils as young as 3rd & 4th grade. They also offer a computer bulletin board and customized lesson plans and materials lists.

In Washington state the most active organization is 911 Media Arts Center, 117 Yale Ave N., Seattle, Wa. 98109 (206) 682-6552. 911's director, Robin Reidy is eager to support teachers engaged in media literacy education. She is in the process of arranging continuing education credit for teachers. Some present students of the Masters In Teaching program at TESC are involved in researching media literacy and are requesting the program library to acquire resource materials. I believe that they will soon be in the forefront of this growing educational trend.

Channel One is being installed in more schools all the time, from urban Olympia to rural Tonasket. Ignoring it won't make it go away. Neither will the television, movies or magazines that absorb so much of our childrens' time. With a little effort, however, teachers can help their students become true critics.

Tom is an Evergreen student interested in the Masters of Teaching.

YOU KNOW WINCHESTER, THIS WOULD DEFINITELY BE A GOOD YEAR TO INVEST IN HATS.

ALWAYS SAFE & LOCK, inc.

* Locks / Safes / Doors
* Doors & Frames
* Foreign and Domestic Auto Locks
* Fire Extinquishers
* Guaranteed Keys

301 West 4th 357-8500 & 800 Sleater-Kinney 458-8500

New Electoral Exercises for the America

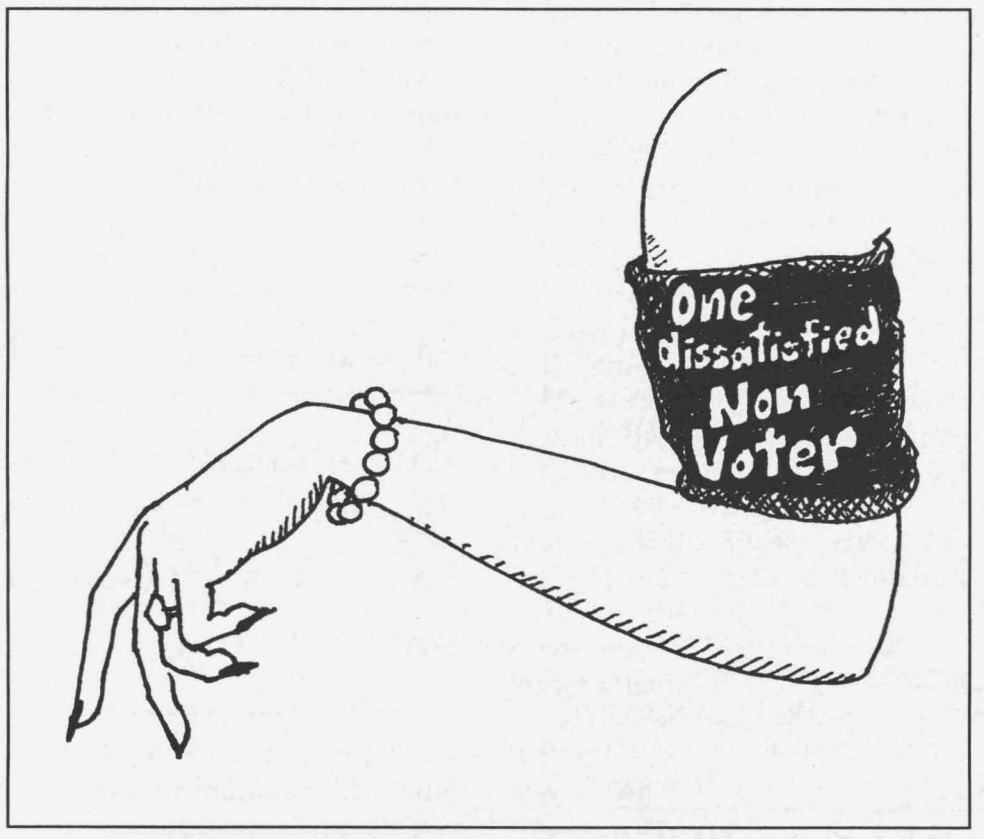
Barbara Brown and Emma Hendrickson

What would you think if someone said, "Don't vote, don't waste your energy. Things are already set up the way they're going to be and you're not going to make any difference"? Would you respond with, "If you don't vote you don't have any right to complain about what comes of it"? Would you continue with, "You have an obligation as a citizen of this country to exercise your right to vote and make your voice be heard"?

Well, the standard belief in this country is that you are right. Any civics teacher will say that voting is a duty of every adult citizen. You study the issues and the candidates and vote to help guide this nation down the right path. Good for you!

Now, what if this widely believed fact is merely an assumption that's just not true. What if it really doesn't matter whether you vote or not? How does that feel, a little uncomfortable? Maybe a sensation of powerlessness, with a little desperation? It should. It's a pretty scary thought to think that the voters may have little control in this country, little say in what happens.

Look at what we have to vote for in the Washington Primary in May. The Republicans again offer us George "Wimp to Butcher" Bush, the man who loves to promote capital gains tax cuts for all ills. And the Democrats offer us not much better with Slick Willy, a governor of a "Right to Work" state and Governor Moonbeam with his "it's only fair" flat rate income tax. (His proposal would double the amount paid by a minimum wage worker.) Can these candidates actually be compared to people such as Bill Moyers, Barbara Jordan, Barbara Ehrenreich, Henry Gonzales, and any number of citizens that function from a personal philosophy with integrity to boot? If the people of this nation were actually in control, would we really narrow down our choices to Bush, Brown and Clinton, the three Santa Clauses of the rich? (We speak of only these because so-called independent candidates or third party choices are written off and edited out of the public's mind by the mainstream media.)



So, should we roll over and play dead? Heck, no! How convenient for them if only we would. What we are going to suggest is that there are already people doing something about it, but you won't find them at Democratic or Republican meetings or, more importantly, at the voting booth.

Piven and Cloward wrote in their book, Poor People's Movements in 1977, that "a protest movement entails a transformation both of consciousness and of behavior." The consciousness portion consists of three parts: 1) formally loyal citizens no longer believe the system works, that it has become corrupt; 2) they "begin to assert `rights' that imply demands for change" and 3) they become confident they can make change happen.

The transformation in behavior in political movements is described as follows: First, masses of people become defiant, they violate the traditions and laws to which they ordinarily acquiesce, and they flaunt the authorities to whom they ordinarily defer. And second, their defiance is acted out collectively, as members of a group, and not as isolated individuals. Piven and Cloward go on to say "collective action" need not be as blatant as "strikes and riots", and may be as "ambiguous" as individual acts by those who consider themselves to be a part of "a larger movement." "Such apparently atomized acts of defiance can be considered movement events when those involved perceive themselves to be acting as members of a group, and when they share a common set of protest beliefs."

On November 8, 1988 only 50% of citizens of voting age bothered to cast ballots in the Presidential Election, 12 percentage points lower than in 1960, and a huge drop from the norm of 80% in the last half of the 19th century. And

Who Is In Control Here?

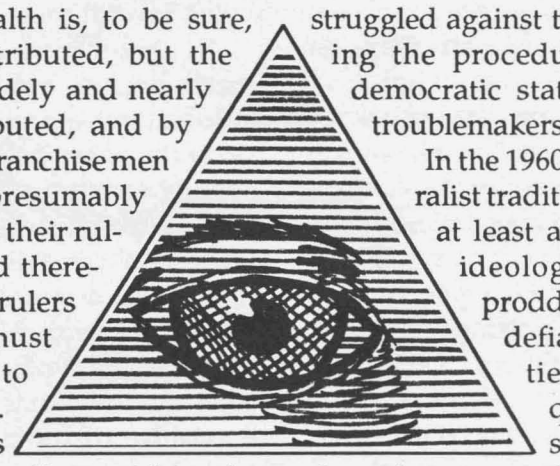
Frances Fox Piven and Richard A. Cloward

The following is excerpted with permission from the book , Poor People's Movements: How they succeed, how they fail.

Common sense and historical experience combine to suggest a simple but compelling view of the roots of power in any society. Crudely but clearly stated, those who control the means of physical coercion, and those who control the means of producing wealth, have power over those who do not. This much is true whether the means of coercion consists in the primitive force of a warrior caste or the technological force of a modern army. And it is true whether the control of production consists in control by priests of the mysteries of the calendar on which agriculture depends, or control by financiers of the large-scale capital on which industrial production depends. Since coercive force can be used to gain control of the means of producing wealth, and since control of wealth can be used to gain coercive force, these two sources of power tend over time to be drawn together within one ruling class.

Common sense and historical experience also combine to suggest that these sources of power are protected and enlarged by the use of that power not only to control the actions of men and women, but also to control their beliefs. What some call superstructure, and what others call culture, includes an elaborate system of beliefs and ritual behaviors which defines for people what is right and what is wrong and why; what is possible and what is impossible; and the behavioral imperatives that follow from these beliefs. Because this superstructure of beliefs and rituals is evolved in the context of unequal power, it is inevitable that beliefs and rituals reinforce inequality, by rendering the powerful divine and the challengers evil. Thus, the class struggles that might otherwise be inevitable in sharply unequal societies ordinarily do not seem either possible or right from the perspective of those who live within the structure of belief and ritual fashioned by those societies. People whose only possible recourse in struggle is to defy the beliefs and rituals laid down by their rulers ordinarily do not.

What common sense and historical experience suggest has been true of many societies is no less true of modern capitalist societies, the United States among them. Power is rooted in the control of coercive force and in the control of the means of production. However, in capitalist societies this reality is not legitimated by rendering the powerful divine, but by obscuring their existence. Thus electoral-representative arrangements proclaim the franchise, not force and wealth, as the basis for the accumulation and use of power. Wealth is, to be sure, unequally distributed, but the franchise is widely and nearly equally distributed, and by exercising the franchise men and women presumably determine who their rulers will be, and therefore what their rulers presumably must do if they are to remain rulers. Since analysts of power also live within the boundaries of ritual and belief of their society, they have contributed to this obfuscation by arguing that electoral arrangements offset other bases of power. Even the most sophisticated American political scientists have begun with the assumption that there are in fact two systems of power, one based on wealth and one based on votes, and they have devoted themselves to deciphering the relative influence of these two systems. This question has been regarded as intricate and complicated, demanding assiduous investigations in a variety of political settings, and by methods subject to the most rigorous empirical strictures. ("Nothing categorical can be assumed about power in any community" was Polsby's famous dictum.") The answer that emerged from these investigations was that electoral-representative procedures accomplished a substantial dispersal of power in a less-than-perfect world. It followed that those who struggled against their rulers by defying the procedures of the liberal democratic state were dangerous troublemakers, or simply fools.



In the 1960s the dominant pluralist tradition was discredited, at least among those on the ideological left who are prodded by outbreaks of defiance among minorities and students to question this perspective. In the critique that emerged it was argued that there were not two systems of power, but that the power rooted in wealth and force overwhelmed the power of the franchise. The pluralists had erred, the critics said, by failing to recognize the manifold ways in which wealth and its concomitants engulfed electoral-representative procedures, effectively barring many people from participation while deluding and entrapping others into predetermined electoral "choices". The pluralists had also erred by ignoring the consistent bias toward the interests of elites inherent in presumably neutral governing structures, no matter what the mandate of the electorate.

© 1977 by Frances Fox Piven.

can Voter

in comparison with countries of the industrialized democracies, such as Belgium, Australia, Austria, Sweden, and Italy all in the 90th percentile, the US ranks just twenty-third. What does this mean? Undeniably, many of those refraining from voting have taken at least the first step in Piven and Clowards' model of movement behavior.

This behavior is also an indication that there may be a change in conscience that "exercising the right to vote" is an act of futility or at least purposeless in their lives. Of what use is a government that creates mazes for the everyday citizen and yet is so easily influenced by those with money (I.E., S&L bailout, leveraged buyouts, and free-trade agreement)? And of what use are the Democrats and Republicans that create a Supreme Court that cannot protect the basic rights of all citizens (I.E., the soon to be overturned Roe vs Wade.)?

It is common in our society to blame the problems of this country on those who do not vote. However, it could just as easily be said that those who do vote give credibility and legitimacy to a system that not only does not listen to its citizenship, but manipulates societal values of right and wrong, good and bad to the advantage of a few.

"Since 1977, the average after-tax family income of the lowest 10%, in current dollars, fell from $3,528 to $3,157. That's 10.5% drop. During the same period, average family income of the top 10% increased from $70,459 to $89,783 up 24.4%. The incomes of the top 1% `only' $174,498 in 1977, are up to $303,900 - a whopping 74.2% increase over the decade." (*Columbus Dispatch*) During this time the government had given full rein of the economy to Wall Street, the banks and S&Ls and the trickle-down theory was incorporated through tax cuts for the wealthy. The rest of the population, "disproportionately burdened by Social Security and excise increases and rewarded less by any income tax reductions, wound up paying higher effective [tax] rates." Kevin Phillips *The Politics of Rich and Poor* (Point of fact, the Republicans didn't do this all by their lonesome.) [Quote is by Kevin Philips from *The Politics of Rich and Poor*, p. 82.]

Jim Hightower said in 1988, "the greatest number of electoral drop-outs are people making less than $25,000 a year. It doesn't take a degree in sociology to figure out that these people are telling us they don't see much improvement in their lives from the economic policies of either major party. If you talk with the non-voters in any town in America, the most common sentiment you'll hear is that there is not a dime's worth of difference ... in the two parties: the rich just get richer, and the rest get taken."

Do we need to say more? The government ain't going our way or even glancing in our direction. The saying don't fix it if it's not broken must also mean if it isn't working, you better find a way to fix it. The voting public relies on the same old remedy for a situation that continues to worsen: it's a pattern forming a stuck loop. To stop reinforcing this pattern we need to stop feeding it. We need to take our "right to vote" and make it into a tool that serves our purposes.

To do this we need to change the paradigm surrounding the function and purpose of voting. We need to see the withholding of our votes as a positive, deliberate action rather than one of submissiveness or apathy. We need to value our individual worth as citizens, and our political voices. We need to listen far less to those in government who blame us for their deafness.

If there has been one constant in my 30 years of observing politics, it is the single shocking fact that the most far re aching developments do not emanate from Washington [D.C.] or elected politicians but from unanointed citizens in unexpected place, who take it upon themselves to act. Politics can resonate with ennobling music when people pursue questions larger than self." **William Geider, journalist**

We offer the following exercises for flexing your political rights.

1) Vote only for candidates who truly represent you, your political ideology, your personal values. If we continue voting for the most electable or for the lessor of two evils will there by any reason for the political system to recognize our dissatisfaction?

2) If your preferred candidate is not on the ballot, cast a write-in ballot. Even if this is not part of a organized write-in campaign at least you won't waste your vote to elect someone like Clinton who has been described as someone who "tells you what you want to hear, then does as he damn well pleases" or Bush who just does the latter.

3) Hand in a blank ballot. We're not sure what this would do, whether it would be recorded in some way or not. Maybe tying a black ribbon around it would be the appropriate symbolic gesture.

4) Refrain from voting at all. Don't vote. Wear your black ribbon around your arm instead and start talking to your friends, neighbors, family about how do we change what's going on to our satisfaction. This, we think, has the most potential for the greatest impact and highest reward.

These individual acts by each of us become the "movement events." We will not be acting alone but as "members of a group" that "share a common set of protest beliefs." Our confidence in our ability to create change will come as we support and validate each other's declarations and actions of resistance. This is the behavior and conscience of a protest movement.

* * *

Please join us in the May 19th Presidential Primary by taking a positive, deliberate action with your right to vote. Please consider that some form of "NOT VOTING" can be such a positive deliberate action.

* * *

Barbara Brown and Emma Hendrickson are local citizens, formally active in the Democratic Party, who have recently become dissatisfied non-voters. They welcome discussion and dialogue on non-voter activities. You may contact them through WIP.

The spectator theory of politics

Bland journalism spawns political apathy

Mike Hudson

If you paid any attention to the last Presidential campaign, you probably read about Gary Hart's extramarital frolics, George Bush's love for the flag, and Dan Quayle's less-than-impressive undergraduate grades. You probably saw consultants and spin doctors on TV telling you what it all meant. You definitely didn't hear much as it lurched toward the 1990s.

And if you were like most Americans, you probably didn't give a damn.

Social critic Christopher Lasch contends that there's a connection between the shallowness of modern American journalism and the growing apathy of the American electorate.

Lasch, writing in the *Gannett Center Journal* (Spring 1990), argues that the news media has abandoned their historical role as forums for public debate and become too-willing conduits for information pumped out by publicists and other skilled media manipulators.

The result is an electorate that takes in information passively, if at all. That spells trouble. "What democracy requires is a public debate, not information, "Lasch says. "Of course it needs information too, but the kind of information it needs can be generated only by vigorous popular debate."

It is probably more than a coincidence that popular political participation was at its peak from 1830 to 1900, when a highly partisan press ruled. At that time, when newspapers were not bashful about voicing opinions, approximately 80 percent of eligible voters went to the polls. But American journalism began changing early in this century, as owners and editors pushed a "professional " model of reporting that emphasized objectivity and information gathering.

In the 1920s, Walter Lippmann provided the philosophical underpinning for this movement, concluding that public opinion, so easily swayed by slogans and symbols, was too unreliable to guide government policy in a complex industrial society. He believed that responsibility should be turned over to knowledgeable administrators who would rely on dispassionate, scientifically tested information. And, for Lippmann, the media's role was to serve simply as a conduit of information produced by these administrators representing major institutions.

And this kind of information, James Boylan notes in *Columbia*

Journalism Review (May/June 1991), "usually turns out to be the peculiar property of those in power."

Political reporting today is almost completely dictated by who journalists choose as their sources—almost always experts of some sort, usually with ties to the existing political power structure.

Daniel C. Hallin notes in another *Columbia Journalism Review* article (January/February 1991) that we are twice as likely to see think-tank academics and other free-lance political experts interviewed on network news as we are to see average voters. In fact, the presence of voters in campaign coverage has declined from more than 20 percent of "sound bites" in 1972 and 1976 to no more than 4 percent in 1984 and 1988.

As they've been shoved out of the political debate, voters can't help but be turned off by the horse-race-obsessed, belly-button-contemplating brand of journalism that results.

Boylan notes that the decline in voting during the past three decades has been matched, almost year for year, with a similar decline in newspaper reading.

Mike Hudson is an investigative reporter for the Roanoke (*Virginia*) Times & World News.

Excerpted with permission from the Utne Reader.

A Memoir

My Daily Dives In The Dumpster

Lars Eighner

Eighner became homeless in 1988 after leaving a job that he had held for ten years as an attendant at the state hospital in Austin, Texas. Since last September he has been living in a small apartment in Austin and continues to scavenge. He is currently completing a memoir about homelessness.

I began Dumpster diving about a year before I became homeless.

I prefer the term "scavenging" and use the word "scrounging" when I mean to be obscure. I have heard people, evidently meaning to be polite, use the word "foraging," but I prefer to reserve that word for gathering nuts and berries and such, which I do also, according to the season and opportunity.

I like the frankness of the word "scavenging." I live from the refuse of others. I am a scavenger. I think it a sound and honorable niche, although if I could I would naturally prefer to live the comfortable consumer life, perhaps—and only perhaps—as a slightly less wasteful consumer owing to what I have learned as a scavenger.

Except for jeans, all my clothes come from Dumpsters. Boom boxes, candles, bedding, toilet paper, medicine, books, a typewriter, a virgin male love doll, change sometimes amounting to many dollars: All came from Dumpsters. And, yes, I eat from Dumpsters too.

There are a predictable series of stages that a person goes through in learning to scavenge. At first the new scavenger is filled with disgust and self-loathing. He is ashamed of being seen and may lurk around trying to duck behind things, or he may try to dive at night. (In fact, this is unnecessary, since most people instinctively look away from scavengers.)

Every grain of rice seems to be a maggot. Everything seems to stink. The scavenger can wipe the egg yolk off the found can, but he cannot erase the stigma of eating garbage from his mind.

This stage passes with experience. The scavenger finds a pair of running shoes that fit and look and smell brand-new. He finds a pocket calculator in perfect working order. He finds pristine ice cream, still frozen, more than he can eat or keep. He begins to understand: People do throw away perfectly good stuff, a lot of perfectly good stuff.

At this stage he may become lost and never recover. All the Dumpster divers I have known come to the point of trying to acquire everything they touch. Why not take it, they reason, it is all free. This is, of course, hopeless, and most divers come to realize that they must restrict themselves to items of relatively immediate utility.

The finding of objects is becoming something of an urban art. Even respectable, employed people will sometimes find something tempting sticking out of a Dumpster or standing beside one. Quite a number of people, not all of them of the bohemian type, are willing to brag that they found this or that piece in the trash.

But eating from Dumpsters is the thing that separates the dilettanti from the professionals. Eating safely involves three principles: using the senses and common sense to evaluate the condition of the found materials; knowing the Dumpsters of a given area and checking them regularly; and seeking always to answer the question, Why was this discarded?

Perhaps everyone who has a kitchen and a regular supply of groceries has, at one time or another, eaten half a sandwich before discovering mold on the bread, or has gotten a mouthful of milk before realizing the milk had turned. Nothing of the sort is likely to happen to a Dumpster diver because he is constantly reminded that most food is discarded for a reason.

Yet perfectly good food can be found in Dumpsters. Canned goods, for example, turn up, fairly often in the Dumpsters I frequent. All except the most phobic people would be willing to eat from a can even if it came from a Dumpster. I have few qualms about dry foods such as crackers, cookies, cereal, chips, and pasta if they are free of visible contaminates and still dry and crisp. Raw fruits and vegetables with intact skins seem perfectly safe to me, excluding, of course, the obviously rotten. Many are discarded for minor imperfections that can be pared away. Chocolate is often discarded only because it has become discolored as the cocoa butter de-emulsified.

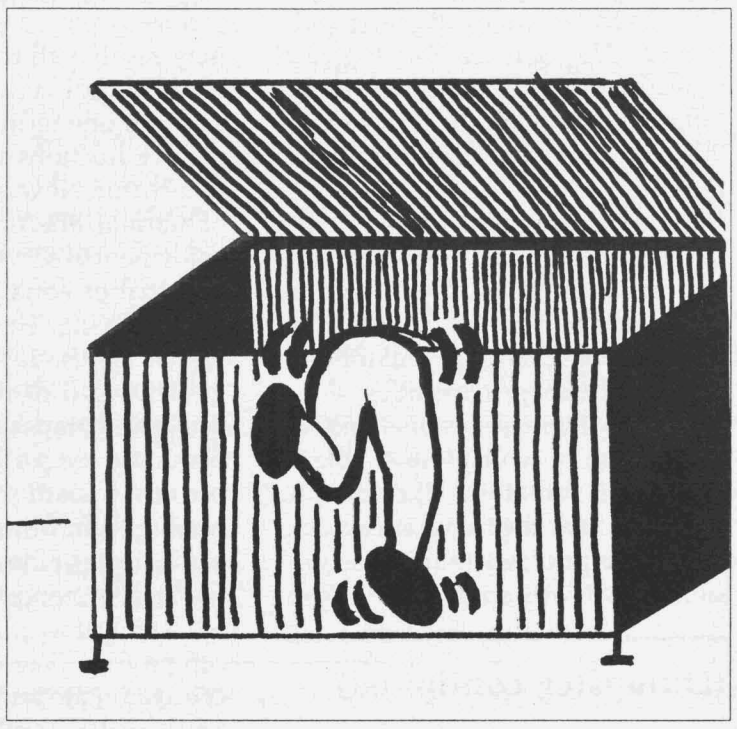
I began scavenging by pulling pizzas out of the Dumpster behind a pizza delivery shop. In general, prepared food requires caution, but in this case I knew what time the shop closed and went to the Dumpster as soon as the last of the help left.

Because the workers at these places are usually inexperienced, pizzas are often made with the wrong topping, baked incorrectly, or refused on delivery for being cold. The products to be discarded are boxed up because inventory is kept by counting boxes: A boxed pizza can be written off; an unboxed pizza does not exist. So I had a steady supply of fresh, sometimes warm pizza.

The area I frequent is inhabited by many affluent college students. I am not here by chance; the Dumpsters are very rich. Students throw out many good things, including food, particularly at the end of the semester and before and after breaks. I find it advantageous to keep an eye on the academic calendar.

A typical discard is a half jar of peanut butter— though non-organic peanut butter does not require refrigeration and is unlikely to spoil in any reasonable time. Occasionally I find a cheese with a spot of mold, which, of course, I just pare off, and because it is obvious why the cheese was discarded, I treat it with less suspicion than an apparently perfect cheese found in similar circumstances. One of my favorite finds is yogurt—often discarded, still sealed, when the expiration date has passed—because it will keep for several days, even in warm weather.

I avoid ethnic foods I am unfamiliar with. If I do not know what it is supposed to look or smell like when it is good, I cannot be certain I will be able to tell if it is bad.



No matter how careful I am I still get dysentery at least once a month, oftener in warm weather. I do not want to paint too romantic a picture. Dumpster diving has serious drawbacks as a way of life.

Though I have a proprietary feeling about my Dumpsters, I don't mind my direct competitors, other scavengers, as much as I hate the soda-can scroungers.

I have tried scrounging aluminum cans with an able-bodied companion, and afoot we could make no more than a few dollars a day. I can extract the necessities of life from the Dumpsters directly with far less effort than would be required to accumulate the equivalent value in aluminum. Can scroungers, then, are people who must have small amounts of cash—mostly drug addicts and winos.

I do not begrudge them the cans, but can scroungers tend to tear up the Dumpsters, littering the area and mixing the contents. There are precious few courtesies among scavengers, but it is a common practice to set aside surplus items: pairs of shoes, clothing, canned goods, and such. A true scavenger hates to see good stuff go to waste, and what he cannot use he leaves in good condition in plain sight. Can scroungers lay waste to everything in their path and will stir one of a pair of good shoes to the bottom of a Dumpster to be lost or ruined in the muck. They become so specialized that they can see only cans and earn my contempt by passing up change, canned goods, and readily hockable items.

Can scroungers will even go through individual garbage cans, something I have never seen a scavenger do. Going through individual garbage cans without spreading litter is almost impossible, and litter is likely to reduce the public's tolerance of scavenging. But my strongest reservation about going through individual garbage cans is that this seems to me a very personal kind of invasion, one to which I would object if I were a homeowner.

Though Dumpsters seem somehow less personal than garbage cans, they still contain bank statements, bills, correspondence, pill bottles, and other sensitive information. I avoid trying to draw conclusions about the people who dump in the Dumpsters I frequent. I think it would be unethical to do so, although I know many people will find the idea of scavenger ethics too funny for words.

Occasionally a find tells a story. I once found a small paper bag containing some unused condoms, several partial tubes of flavored sexual lubricant, a partially used compact of birth control pills, and the tom pieces of a picture of a young man. Clearly, the woman was through with him and planning to give up sex altogether.

Dumpster things are often sad -- abandoned teddy bears, shredded wedding albums, despaired-of sales kits. I find diaries and journals. College students also discard their papers; I am horrified to discover the kind of paper that now merits an A in an undergraduate course.

Dumpster diving is outdoor work, often surprisingly pleasant. It is not entirely predictable; things of interest turn up every day, and some days there are finds of great value. I am always very pleased when I can turn up exactly the thing I most wanted to find. Yet in spite of the element of chance, scavenging, more than most other pursuits, tends to yield returns in some proportion to the effort and intelligence brought to bear.

I think of scavenging as a modem

(continued next page)

A true scavenger hates to see good stuff go to waste, and what he cannot use he leaves in good condition in plain sight.

Yet in spite of the element of chance, scavenging, more than most other pursuits, tends to yield returns in some proportion to the effort and intelligence brought to bear.

Unjust Poverty is the Reciprocal of Unjust Possessions

Marvin Saillard

A letter to Ken Schwilk who is the Executive Director of the Associated Ministries of Thurston County, 102 Thomas Street NW Olympia, WA 98502

Dear Mr. Schwilk;

Henry George, author of *Progress & Poverty* (1879), lived from 1839 to 1897. In 1898 Henry George, Jr. published *The Science Of Political Economy* exactly as it was left by his father. In this book the terms of political economy are scientifically defined.

Henry George aligns the economic term *wealth* with the moral teachings of Christianity in Book II, *The Nature of Wealth*, Chapter XIX, *Moral Confusion as to Wealth*. On pages 305 through 307 Henry George concludes:

"But is there not some line the recognition of which will enable us to say with something like scientific precision that this man is rich and that man is poor; some line of possession which will enable us truly to distinguish between rich and poor in all places and conditions of society; a line of the natural mean or normal possession, below which in varying degrees is poverty, and above which in varying degrees is wealthiness? It seems to me that there is.

"If we set aside for the moment the narrower economic meaning of service, by which direct service is conveniently distinguished from the indirect service embodied in wealth, we may resolve all the things which directly or indirectly satisfy human desire into one term service, just as we resolve fractions into a common denominator. Now is there not a natural or normal line of the possession or enjoyment of service? Clearly there is. It is that of equality between giving and receiving. This is the equilibrium which Confucius expressed in the golden word of his teaching that in English we translate into 'reciprocity.' Naturally the services which a member of a human society is entitled to receive from other members are the equivalents of those he renders to others. Here is the normal line from which what we call wealthiness and what we call poverty take their start. He who can command more service than he need render, is rich. He is poor, who can command less service than he does render or is willing to render; for in our civilization of today we must take note of the monstrous fact that men willing to work cannot always find opportunity to work. The one has more than he ought to have; the other less. Rich and poor are thus correlatives of each other; the existence of a class of rich involves the existence of a class of poor, and the reverse; and abnormal luxury on the one side and abnormal want on the other have a relation of necessary sequence. To put this relation into terms of morals, the rich are the robbers, since they are at least sharers in the proceeds of robbery; and the poor are the robbed.

"This is the reason, I take it, why Christ, Who was not really a man of such reckless speech as some Christians deem Him to have been, always expressed sympathy with the poor and repugnance of the rich. In His philosophy it was better even to be robbed than to rob. In the kingdom of right doing which He preached, rich and poor would be impossible, because rich and poor in the true sense are the results of wrong-doing. And when He said, 'It is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of heaven,' He simply put in the emphatic form of Eastern metaphor a statement of fact as coldly true as the statement that two parallel lines can never meet.

"Injustice cannot live where justice rules, and even if the man himself might get through, his riches - his power of compelling service without rendering service - must of necessity be left behind. It there can be no poor in the kingdom of heaven, clearly there can be no rich.

"And so it is utterly impossible in this, or in any other conceivable world, to abolish unjust poverty, without at the same time abolishing unjust possessions. This is a hard word to the softly amiable philanthropists, who, to speak metaphorically, would like to get on the good side of God without angering the devil. But it is a true word nevertheless."

"And so it is utterly impossible in this, or in any other conceivable world, to abolish unjust poverty, without at the same time abolishing unjust possessions."

Unjust possessions are involved when a landowner is able to charge rent-of-land to a land-user only for giving him permission to use land. This community land was made valuable by the presence and activity of all the people in the community, and made more valuable by the taxpayer-financed infrastructure, public services, and beneficial public programs. The rental-value of land exists because all of the people of the community have needs which can only be satisfied by gaining access to the land. Labor working on land with the help of capital produces wealth for the community. Land-users pay the community-created rental-value of land to the landowners even though the landowners have done nothing to earn it.

Landowners are able to accumulate service without giving any service in return, thereby receiving unjust possessions. We can eliminate this special privilege, and create a level economic playing field by having the community government collect the community-created rental-value of land as public revenue in place of all taxes on labor, capital, homes, buildings, improvements, businesses, occupations and sales, along with most fees and all excise taxes.

Since the rental value of land increases in direct relation to the cost of infrastructure, public services and beneficial public programs, the resulting incremental increase in rental-value should also be collected as public revenue to pay for these public expenditures.

This land-value taxation made possible by a two rate property tax amendment to the State Constitution would eliminate land speculation and land-price inflation, and would create a healthy economy with maximum employment opportunities. All land owners would be compelled to make efficient use of their land or they would have to sell it to someone who would make good use of it. This would make it economically practical to infill all valuable urban land and develop it densely.

It would no longer be necessary to go to the urban fringes to find affordable land for urban development. A high tax rate on land values brings down the selling price of land. The rental-value of land would be determined by the current market for land-use rather than by the speculative market for future potential land use. The only thing left to cause inflation of prices would be Federal manipulation of the currency.

Let us seek the moral high ground in taxation.

Marvin Saillard is a member of the Washington State Georgist Association, which is a chapter of Common Ground - USA. It's purpose is to promote land value taxation which will tax the unearned increment out of land-values. Winston Churchill said it much better and stronger in 1920: "Unearned increments in land are not the only form of unearned increment, but they are the principle form of unearned increment, and they are derived from processes which are not merely not beneficial, but positively detrimental to the general public."

Marvin is also a member of the WIP editorial board. The opinions expressed in his article are his own. and they do not necessarily reflect those of the Rainbow Coalition or the WIP editorial board.

(Dumpster, continued)

form of self reliance. After ten years of government service, where everything is geared to the lowest common denominator, I find work that rewards initiative and effort refreshing. Certainly I would be happy to have a sinecure again, but I am not heartbroken to be without one.

I find from the experience of scavenging two rather deep lessons. The first is to take what I can use and let the rest go. I have come to think that there is no value in the abstract. A thing I cannot use or make useful, perhaps by trading, has no value, however fine or rare it may be. (I mean useful in the broad sense—some art, for example, I would think valuable.)

The second lesson is the transience of material being. I do not suppose that ideas are immortal, but certainly they are longer lived than material objects.

The things I find in Dumpsters, the love letters and rag dolls of so many lives, remind me of this lesson. Many times in my travels I have lost everything but the clothes on my back. Now I hardly pick up a thing without envisioning the time I will cast it away. This, I think, is a healthy state of mind. Almost everything I have now has already been cast out at least once, proving that what I own is valueless to someone.

I find that my desire to grab for the gaudy bauble has been largely sated. I think this is an attitude I share with the very wealthy—we both know there is plenty more where whatever we have came from. Between us are the rat-race millions who have confounded their selves with the objects they grasp and who nightly scavenge the cable channels looking for they know not what. I am sorry for them.

This originally appeared in the Fall issue of The Threepenny Review.

©1991 by Lars Eighner.

IRONWOOD EVERGREENS

Telephone
(206) 786-5250

Katy Murray MSW, CCDCIII

Therapy • Consultation • Training

3434 Martin Way, #3
Olympia, WA 98506 (206) 438-0306

A City Councilman's Personal View

The City Has Limited Abilities in the Westside Land-Use Issue

Mark Foutch

Simmering separately on the back burner for months or years, land-use issues on Olympia's Westside have suddenly come to the boil and demand immediate attention. Obsolete zoning on the Harrison Avenue commercial strip lies at the bottom of most (but not all) of these issues. Let's see what local government can (and can't) do to address them.

I'm no lawyer, but as an Olympia Councilmember and former neighborhood association president I've formed some impressions of the law as it relates to these questions. Washington State law is an interesting mixture of populism and property rights. As city governments are created by the State, and as local government officials are sworn to uphold the U.S. and State constitutions as well as State and local law, we have no choice but to apply the law through our regulations and appeals processes.

The basic concept of Washington's (and most states') land-use law is that a property owner has the right to develop his or her property to its highest and best use, subject only to restrictions in the public interest such as zoning, environmental protection, etc. The impact of this concept is that any such restriction must apply to all relevant properties and cannot be invented, expanded or deleted to promote or oppose a particular project or person. Only a clearly-unforeseen, well-documented, "emergent' threat to the broad public interest would justify such an "extraordinary" action by government to negate a basic right.

A related subject is "vesting." This means that at some point in the permitting process, the property owner is entitled to develop a project under the rules in effect at that time. A social service group, for example, might wish to site a home for AIDS patients in a neighborhood currently zoned for such a "group home." Would it be fair if the City could suddenly change the zoning when the application came in? While this example shows that "vesting" applies to everyone, in practice it mostly favors those who do the most building. I'm told that Washington State is one of the few states to "vest" a project when the application is made. Most other states wait until the application is approved.

The basic concept of "zoning" isn't well understood by many people. Because it's a limitation on that basic property right it must serve a clear public purpose, encompass a coherent, logical area, and can't be a "spot zone" restricting (or expanding) the use of just a single isolated property. Zoning, or any other City law or policy, can't discriminate between local and non-local ownership, and can't specify the "mix" of businesses within a shopping center. It can restrict locations of businesses in the public interest (separating liquor stores and "adult entertainment from residential areas, schools, churches, etc.) A City, particularly if it has a "lever" such as locally-administered Federal block grants, can prescribe the general proportions of business to housing, for example, in a development. But whether the florist is owner-operated or part of a national chain is beyond local government's power to determine.

In its "legislative" role, a local council approves comprehensive plans, sets zoning in accordance with those plans, and establishes regulations followed by City staff to carry out those goals and enforce those laws. But the council also has a "quasi-judicial" role, where it hears appeals of staff actions brought by proponents or opponents of particular projects. For a council's ruling to stand a potential court test, its decision must be based only on the record of appeal. To hear extraneous testimony, or to accept lobbying by either party outside the hearing, could "taint" the decision and cause a reversal in Superior Court. This is hard for the general public to understand: "Why can't I petition my own City Council on this important decision?" The answer is, you can--if you're willing to risk the whole case for the satisfaction of making your point. Councilmembers must reveal lobbying by either side during the hearing so it may be made a matter of record for both sides to know.

There are few easy answers and we can't just charge off in a new direction without a lot of "process."

That's an awful lot of background, but it's necessary to understand where we are on the "Westside issue" -- which is really four interrelated issues with four different potentials for City involvement.

The Westside Center--Rents And Retail Mix

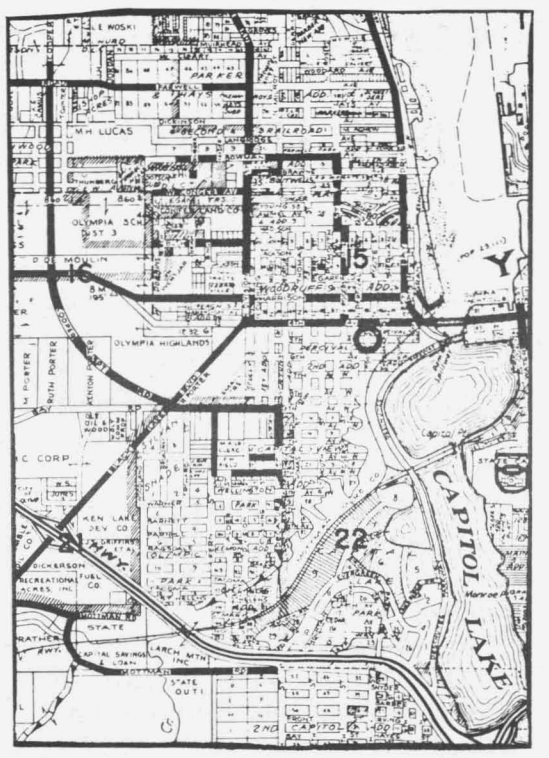
Here's a situation where the City's powers are just about nil. We can (and have) tried to act as a mediator with Center tenants, owners representatives, and neighbors. We've deplored the lousy communication and lack of sensitivity shown by the new owner in his dealings with long-time tenants and have gone on record encouraging improvement. But we can't discriminate against out-of-town ownership, or demand that rents be kept at a certain level, or specify the particular stores or types of stores the owner will rent to. These are purely commercial decisions that *can*, however, be affected by the customer base. Now let's ask if this is a bad state of affairs. It's interesting how "local ownership" has lately become some sort of populist panacea. It wasn't so long ago that small-town local retailers in general were scorned as narrow-minded, price-gouging, anti-competitive and anti-consumer. Local business resistance to outside competition was one of the catalysts for the creation of shopping malls, outside the reach of exclusive, "good ole boy"-dominated small-town governments. I point this out not just for the sake of irony, but to show why it's important that the law remain neutral even though at times it gets in the way of your current cause.

Jack In The Box

As of this writing the JIB application is being appealed to the City Hearings Examiner on the basis of parking and traffic plans and impacts. These are appropriate factors for the City to consider. Because this appeal may come before the Council, I can't comment further or even form an opinion until then. But other issues raised with respect to JIB--out-of-town corporate ownership, employment practices, and other social impacts--aren't germane to the land-use issue and can't be considered by Councilmembers in deciding a land-use appeal. That is, if the Council wants its decision to stand.

The "Freeze"

This was an effort to avoid a feared "Home Club"-sized development on the Westside Center property. Because of the prohibition against "spot zoning," the area to be "frozen" was expanded to include the entire Harrison Avenue strip now zoned "General Commercial." This was clearly a case where government's "instrument" was entirely too blunt for the job intended. First, the freeze would have temporarily restricted new development to the next available City zoning category. Unfortunately, this category was too restrictive. For example, it would have outlawed desirable "mixed use" development envisioned in the City's urban design concept. It would have turned some existing *local* small businesses (remember them?) into "nonconforming uses," limiting their ability to obtain financing to improve or expand their operations. Just the threat of a freeze produced documented financial damage to one property seller when the buyer withdrew an earlier offer--this kind of evidence would have been "fresh meat" to the seller's attorneys if the freeze had been challenged in court.



And what was the justification for this "extraordinary action?" Suspicion of the Westside Center owner's plans and worries about increasing traffic. There was no actual documented "emergent' situation to justify the freeze. Understandable as freeze proponents' concerns were, the legal case, according to our City Attorney, was "weak."

But why not just vote in the freeze and "let 'em sue?" During the freeze, everyone was supposed to work together to create a new vision for the Westside, which would result in new zoning and instant conversion of this long-standing regional commercial strip into a neighborhood-oriented, pedestrian/bike/transit-supported local business zone. Put aside the untested assumptions, unknown timelines and potential side effects of this rezoning. How "cooperative" could we expect the business owners to be after the freeze had been shoved down their throats--particularly when most of them hadn't caused the problem in the first place?

I think the Councilmembers who voted to reject the freeze acted in the long-term best interests of the City and the Westside, and did so against a great deal of very emotional pressure. The freeze was clearly counterproductive and probably illegal and its passage would have "poisoned the well" for future planning while opponents went through the expensive hassle of appealing to Superior Court. I got the feeling that even the freeze's original proponents were privately chagrined at the "collateral damage" their proposal would have caused among local businesses and wished there had been a more precise way to target quick City action. But there wasn't.

(continued next page)

Buffalo Sign Co.
106 N. Water
Olympia
Quality Signs Since '76

Local Developer Plans to Build Despite Neighborhood's Wishes

Joe Ford

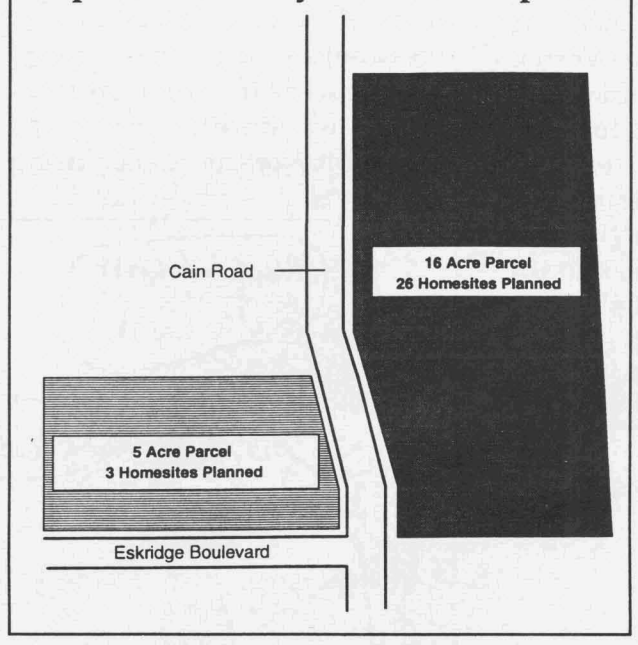
Despite the objections of most of the neighbors who have taken a position regarding land use in the Cain Road neighborhood, Dennis Adams, a local developer, has proposed to develop two parcels of land lying just east and west of Cain Road in southeastern Olympia. The parcels total 22 acres and are among the largest undeveloped blocks of land in southeastern Olympia.

The physical makeup of the land is significant. Both parcels are classic glacial kettles, made up of hillocks, potholes, and steeply sloped terrain with no surface drainage. They are part of the charging basin for Moxlie Springs, the headwaters of Moxlie Creek. Further, they are wooded in the Douglas-fir and hemlock mix of lowland forest. While the parcels have been logged, they contain several hundred large second-growth trees. The setting provides habitat for a variety of birds and mammals.

Dennis Adams proposes to subdivide the two parcels into a development called Burnaby Park, which would include 29 home sites. To accomplish the development, the 5.2 acre parcel first has to be annexed to the City of Olympia, since it is currently an island of Thurston County surrounded by City of Olympia territory.

The annexation and development processes are moving ahead with deliberate and apparently unstoppable force, despite the objections of members of the Cain Road Area Neighborhood Association (CRANA), a group of citizens living in the neighborhood adjacent to the proposed development. On January 9, 1992, City of Olympia staff informed CRANA that the City was not prepared to require an Environmental Impact Statement (EIS) for the development, nor for the annexation of the 5.6 acre parcel. While there may be factors that will mitigate the development, the City staff believe current ordinances do not support blocking its progress.

Proposed Burnaby Park Development



Role of CRANA

The Cain Road Area Neighborhood Association (CRANA) was created by residents of the 630-plus homes in the neighborhood surrounding the proposed development. As a responsible citizen advisory group, CRANA has invited the developer, Dennis Adams, to address the group regarding his proposed development. CRANA members have also met on several occasions with Tom Hill, City of Olympia Development Services Officer, to get his advice and counsel on how to represent our interests and concerns regarding the development. We fear that we will lose the quality of life we enjoy if the Burnaby Park development moves ahead.

To develop the organization's position, CRANA hand-carried survey questionnaires to all the homes in our neighborhood in July 1991 seeking the input and responses of our friends and neighbors. A tabulation of the survey responses is included in the section entitled "Summary of 1991 Survey Results."

Summary of 1991 Survey Results

In July 1991, CRANA distributed surveys to all homes in the neighborhood and received 90 responses, representing 14% of the homes. The following summarizes the responses.

- "Stop the development:" 55% of the responses
- "Retain some or an land as open space or park:" 91% of the responses
- "Would support small tax assessment to purchase land:" 65% of the responses

As the results of the survey make abundantly clear, the residents of the Cain Road neighborhood do not want the Burnaby Park development, or do not want it as described by Dennis Adams. Of the survey respondents, 94% said they want CRANA's position to be to either "stop the development" (55%) or influence it to address the concerns noted (39%).

Another question indicated that regardless of how well the development were built, our "neighborhood would be a worse place to live" (67%).

There are other issues, however, and despite having raised them with the City of Olympia staff, we remain deeply concerned that they will not be properly mitigated. Some of the concerns are as follows:

- Traffic and its effects, including pedestrian safety
- Lack of a neighborhood park or accessible designated open space
- Storm water runoff impacts on water quality, erosion, and flooding

Development Alternatives

At this time, there appear to be three potential development alternatives:

- Development as proposed by Dennis Adams, and modified by the City
- A "mitigated development" incorporating CRANA's suggestions
- Open space or park, as the result of a land purchase

Current Status

As of this edition of *Works in Progress*, the City had issued its "Mitigated Determination of Non-Significance," meaning that the developer would be required to provide some of the needs the neighborhood had requested, primarily a bicycle path through part of the 16 acre parcel, and the deeding to the city of some 7+ acres of open space. The City wants some of this land for dumping stormwater.

Other steps in the development included an annexation hearing before the City Council on April 7, and a hearing before the Hearing Examiner on April 13. At both the hearings, a few speakers supported the development, with the great majority speaking against it.

Other issues and opportunities facing CRANA include acquiring some or all the land for open space or park, working to require a greater degree of protection for both parcels should the development go ahead as planned, and seeking greater City support for neighborhood concerns.

CRANA has recently sent a new survey to all the homes in the neighborhood, and preliminary responses indicate that residents of the neighborhood continue to support modest tax assessments to preserve the land.

We fear that we will lose the quality of life we enjoy if the Burnaby Park development moves ahead.

Alternate Uses of the Land

Anyone who has visited the neighborhood is probably aware of the wonderful wooded tracts at the corner of Cain Road and Eskridge. The land would make excellent open space, perhaps held in reserve for the day when Olympia needs more urban parks. Among the preferred uses are the following:

- Open Space, with wildlife habitat preserved
- Neighborhood park

We invite our friends to see the sites. If you share our neighborhood's concerns regarding uses of the land that are more compatible with neighborhood wishes, then to join us in seeking protection for them.

How You Can Help

Comments regarding land use for the parcels can be submitted to the Olympia City Council, preferably in person during a City Council meeting. If you prefer to write, address your concerns to an individual City Council member, care of Olympia City Council, City Hall, 900 Plum Street, SE, Olympia, WA 98501: David Skramstad, Mayor Nina Carter, Rex Derr, Mark Foutch, Holly Gadbaw, Mary Stuart Lux, Sandra Romero.

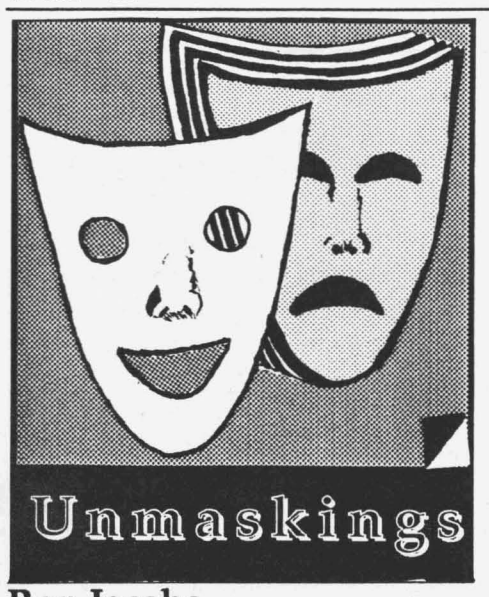
(Westside Rezoning, cont)

Now here's a "win-win" situation, and the real payoff for Westside activists. They have taken a long-neglected issue and moved it to the top of an extraordinarily long list of needed City planning and zoning tasks. At this writing, the Staff is proposing a brand-new process to create a new land-use vision for the Harrison Avenue area. Depending on costs, the joint effort involving neighbors, business and property owners, customers and the City would be headquartered in a storefront in the Westside Center. The process itself would be mediated by the new Dispute Resolution Center. The end result will be a new element of the Olympia Comprehensive Plan and a new zoning category that will phase in, over time, a much-improved vision for that area without short-term damage to those much-valued local businesses everyone wants to preserve.

What are the risks of doing this without a freeze? I Think it's pretty unlikely that a "Home Club"-sized development would make business sense jammed into the tiny Westside Center, far from a freeway interchange. From a regulator's standpoint, the "mitigations" that could be imposed on such a massive project would probably drive it elsewhere--just as Costco went to Tumwater. It's certainly more likely that yet another fast food place or drive-in bank would become vested along Harrison Avenue, but with the current pressure on bankers to cut back on uncertain real estate loans, and knowing that the Planning Commission was at work on area rezoning that might make such a project a "nonconforming use," even that doesn't sound like a sure thing. And, I confess, I'd rather risk a couple more small developments going in under the current zoning than impose an illegal freeze, have our prospects for a new urban vision chewed up in court, and waste for years to come whatever goodwill now exists along Harrison Avenue.

So, think what you will about "the system" or the constraints local government works under, this is our "reality." There are few easy answers and we can't just charge off in a new direction without a lot of "process." Sometimes it's frustrating, but in the long run I think local government in this area produces good solutions to some complex problems. I hope all *WIP* readers who live in Olympia or who shop the Harrison Avenue corridor will participate positively in the City's effort to create that new vision for the Westside.

Mark Foutch is an Olympia City Council person.



Talkin' 'Bout My Generation . . .

Ron Jacobs

Before the Washington legislature went home, they approved a measure now known popularly as the "erotic music" bill. This bill potentially limits access to recorded music by minors. What is amazing is the overwhelming support the measure had. Less than two dozen members of the combined House and Senate voted against it. People who probably have Rolling Stones records in their collection voted in favor of censoring the music their children can legally obtain. The rationale provided by some of these legislators is something to the tune that today's music is obscene and young people need guidance. Give me a break. I know when I was younger I didn't need to be saved from myself.

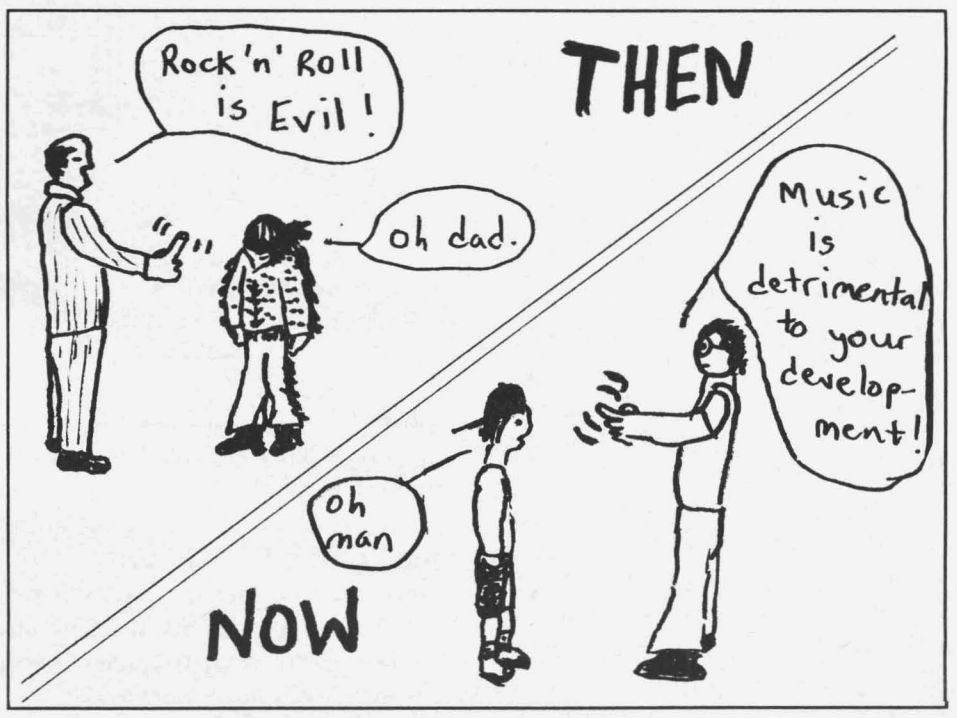
Last month, the Olympia police shut down the all-ages dance club known most recently as the Vortex. It was not the first time a gathering place for youth was shut down by the OPD. Besides nearly creating a riot by attempting to physically drag a young woman from the club, the police rubbed further salt into the wound by stating their delight at the club's closure because "it attracted undesirables from somewhere else."

Yo, wake up, Olympia, those undesirables are your children. They live here. And in every other town and city in north America.

While corporate radio sells the same formula rock it's been selling since Elvis and Pat Boone, an alternative music culture has blossomed. The extreme popularity of political rappers like Public Enemy and the comparable phenomenon of Nirvana are the most obvious evidence of this grassroots culture. These groups and the scene they come from attack the world we live in from the perspective of the streets, using no uncertain terms. If nothing else, the popularity of Public Enemy, Nirvana, and similar bands demonstrates an undercurrent of discontent and anger at the world young people face. Adults, whether they have children or not, can't afford to ignore this. If we do, we may someday be paraphrasing words written by a German minister a few years after the Nazis assumed power: "First they came for the Blacks and Latinos, but since I was not one of them, I did nothing; then they came for the women, but since I was not a woman, I did nothing; then they came for the young people, since I was no longer young, I did nothing...Then they came for me, and there was no one left to do anything."

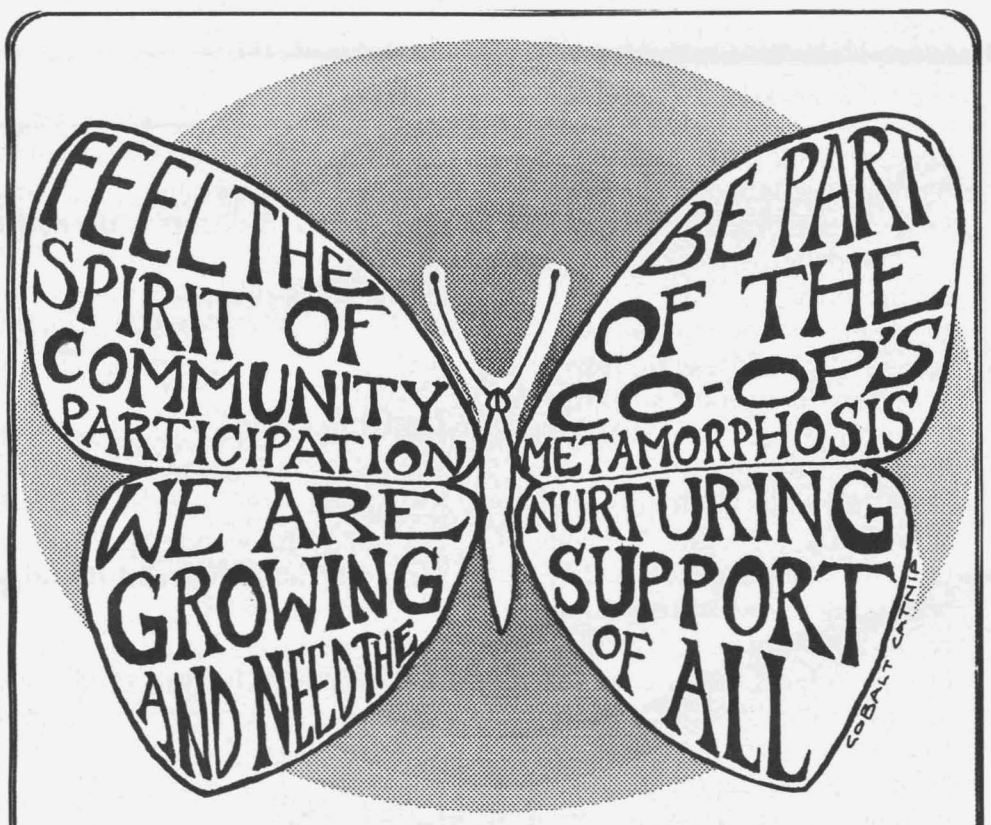
The world the youth of today face is ugly. Uglier than before, in part because of the history created by our failures and lack of will. Even love is potentially fatal. The movement by youth towards the political right so frequently touted in the mainstream media is only part of the story. Underneath this apparent acceptance of the U.S. and its imperial designs are millions of youth, male and female, non-white and white, who reject this mantle that means them no good. A lot of us who came of age in the '60s and'70s forgot what the music and our culture was about. It became just another commodity. I hope the youth who resist today won't forget what theirs is about.

If nothing else, the popularity of Public Enemy, Nirvana, and similar bands demonstrates an undercurrent of discontent and anger at the world young people face.



Vortex update: A group of interested community members expressed their anger and dismay at the police action and subsequent closure of the club to the City Council. An investigation by someone other than the OPD was tentatively agreed on.

Stay tuned.


FEEL THE SPIRIT OF COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION
WE ARE GROWING AND NEED THE
BE PART OF THE CO-OP'S METAMORPHOSIS
NURTURING SUPPORT OF ALL
COBALT CATNIP

Feel the beat,
Be part of the music
that is creating a
harmonious community.
Volunteer at the Co-op

Olympia Food Co-op

921 N. Rogers
Olympia, WA 98502 754-7666

Volunteers recieve a 25% discount on purchases

"As long as we feel powerless in the political and social arenas, we cannot be free."
-- Starhawk

the WASHINGTON FEDERATION OF STATE EMPLOYEES AFSCME • AFL-CIO

Make your impact on the World.

Join the Washington Federation of State Employees Today!
AFSCME - Local 443 - AFL - CIO
PO Box 105 Olympia, WA 98507 Phone 357-9209
Mary Burbage, President

Dave Jette

As we all know by now, Communism Is Dead! At least the monstrous perversion of it which ruled in the former Soviet Union is dead, to the great benefit of humanity. In the U.S., an embarrassingly large number of Marxists have in the past upheld the "really existing socialism" of the Soviet Union, but that is increasingly difficult to do these days. Rather, with the demise of Soviet "socialism" Marxists of diverse political stripes have sought to understand what went wrong in the Soviet Union, and to re-examine their own fundamental outlook on social change.

In my last column I reported on how this process is tearing apart the U.S. Communist Party, whose entrenched leadership has steadfastly upheld the worst of the Soviet experience. Last December, they held a rigged national convention which dismissed from national leadership anyone who questioned the Party line, and recently the Northern California District of the CPUSA voted 152-32 (with 8 abstentions) to formally disaffiliate from the national organization. This action will likely lead to a split in the CP throughout the country.

For several years, however, Marxists outside the CP, but from the pro-Soviet wing of the socialist movement, have been grappling with issues raised by Gorbachev's reforms and the Soviet people's increasing rejection of their country's political leadership. One such organization was the Frontline Political Organization, which was a regroupment of the recently collapsed Line of March (a "Marxist-Leninist" organization which tried to emulate the CPUSA in its adherence to the political line of the Soviet Union and in its bureaucratic organizational methods). FPO didn't survive for very long, but two years ago it did initiate *CrossRoads* magazine as an attempt to further discussion among progressive activists in the wake of the crisis of "Soviet socialism".

CrossRoads Magazine

Specifically, *CrossRoads* has the following goals:

*to promote a candid appraisal of new realities,

•to foster dialogue on the U.S. Left,

•to push forward the development of effective strategies for progressive and socialist activism, and

•to provide a forum for the re-examination of long-held Marxist tenets and the revitalization of Marxist thought.

CrossRoads is published by the Institute for Social and Economic Studies (ISES). Last September, the ISES installed a new Board of Directors comprised of 22 activists from various sectors of the progressive movement who are committed to promoting dialogue and cooperation on the left, and control of the magazine has now passed to this much broader group of activists. The new ISES draft mission statement includes the following:

> The purpose of the ISES is to promote dialogue among activists and scholars on the left; to discuss critical issues on the national and international scene; to explore new strategies and directions for the progressive political movements; and to renew the left through increased cooperation and unity.

The economic, political, and social problems facing our country and the world demand radical and democratic solutions. Yet, the political forces which have advocated such transformation are in a crisis. There is a critical mass of activists able and willing to engage in a serious discussion of the motion of politics, the issues of the day, and the strengths and weaknesses of the progressive movements. We are challenged to preserve and utilize the best elements of the socialist, Marxist, and revolutionary traditions and to redefine our role and vision in a new historical epoch.

The ISES sponsors publications and projects that engage progressives from a wide variety of social and political experiences. Our main emphasis is on finding concrete mechanisms to build dialogue and alliances; bringing diverse Marxist and socialist traditions to bear on contemporary realities; dealing seriously with political and theoretical issues in an accessible way; and highlighting the centrality of anti-racist politics and the movements of people of color to the process of social change in our country. ISES projects will include the publication of *CrossRoads* magazine, helping to organize forums and conferences, sponsoring small discussion groups, and developing means for information sharing and networking among activists nationally and locally.

The Seattle CrossRoads Project, described below, has suggested the following addition to this mission statement:

> In addition, we consider the struggle against the patriarchal ordering of our society to be of fundamental importance, including struggles both against the domination of women by men and those against the oppression of lesbians and gay men. Also of critical importance is the struggle against the environmental destruction of our planet.

CrossRoads is published ten times a year. One-year subscriptions to it run $24; their address is P.O. Box 2809, Oakland, CA 94609.

The Seattle Crossroads Project

The economic, political, and social problems facing our country and the world demand radical and democratic solutions. Yet, the political forces which have advocated such transformation are in a crisis.

Seattle CrossRoads Project

Last fall the Seattle CrossRoads Project (SCP) was formed as a support group for the magazine. Additionally, it saw as its purpose to hold public forums on topics of broad interest to progressives and leftists, in line with the above ISES mission statement; and to help organize and publicize discussion groups on particular topics, of limited duration. On January 11th, it held a highly successful forum for Max Elbaum, the managing editor of *CrossRoads*, speaking on "The Left Tackles the '90s". His talk was attended by 75 activists of a very wide range of political perspectives.

The SCP, now numbering nine members, itself reflects the sort of diversity which will be needed if the U.S. Left is ever to start working together effectively. Several SCP members were formerly involved with Line of March, while several others are members of Freedom Road Socialist Organization, a national group emerging from the Maoist tradition. One member is in a national Trotskyist group, the Freedom Socialist Party. Not so very long ago, members of all three of these organizations would have been at each others' throats. In addition, some SCP members haven't recently been in socialist organizations.

The SCP is now holding a series of one-session discussion meetings, to which anyone interested is most welcome to come. These and the contact person (in Seattle) who can provide suggested readings as well as information on meeting place are ther following:

1. Sunday, May 17, 10 AM - noon. "Health Care in the U.S.: Contradictions". Jim Ellinger, 782-3245.

2. Sunday, June 14, 3-5 PM. "Socialist Electoral Politics: Lessons from the Alinez Campaign for Seattle City Council". Doug Barnes, 722-2453.

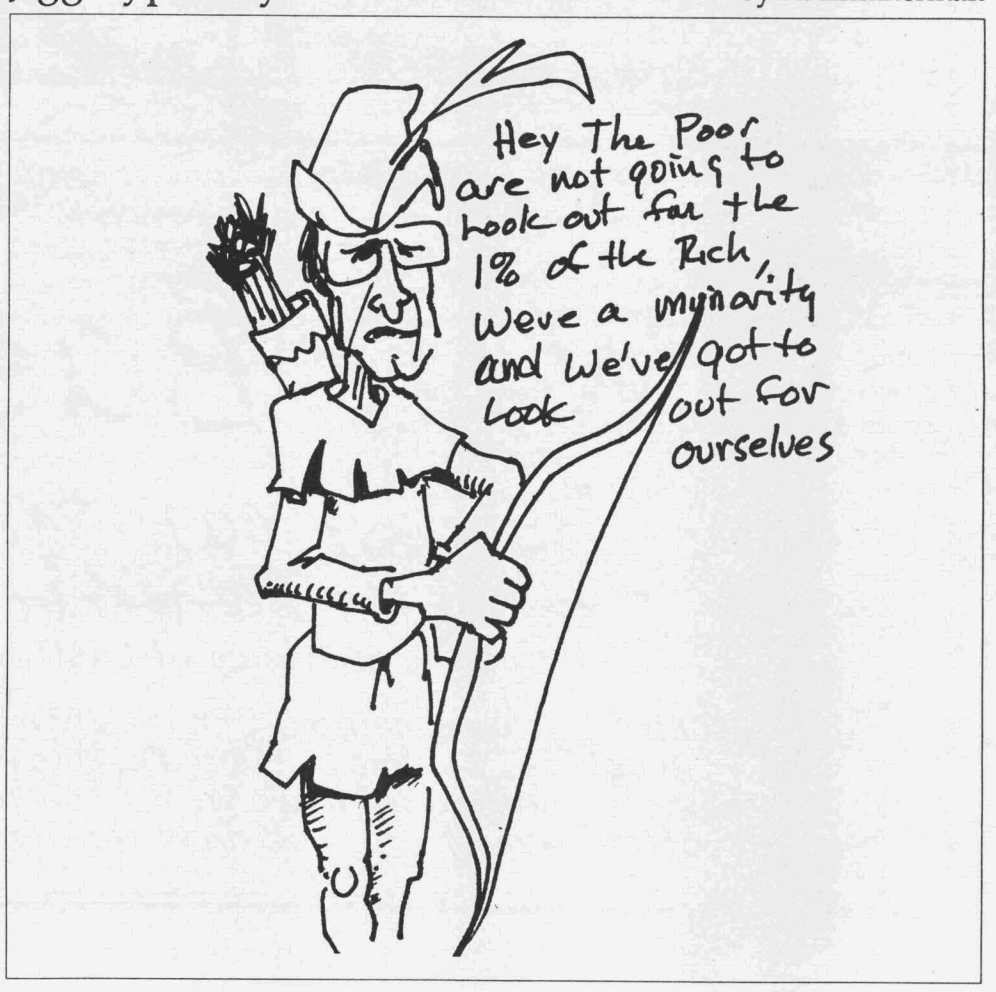
3. Sunday, July 12, 10 AM - noon. "Lessons of the Central American Revolutions". Denys Howard, 632-7374.

Also, Becky Brenner (526-8009) of the SCP is organizing a study group concerned with such theoretical questions as the relationship between socialism and democracy.

The Seattle CrossRoads Project is glad to have anyone join it who agrees with its goals. For further information on the SCP, please write to me at P.O. Box 20067, Seattle 98102. (I am the SCP Secretary-Treasurer.)

Jiggerypokery

by Al Zimmerman



Organic solutions
NATURAL HEALING PROCESSES
michael h. moore · arborist
(206) 866·8043
P.O. BOX 6144
OLYMPIA WA 98502

(Media continued)

ing the inadequate 1934 Communications Act, Congress could serve the public interest by granting the public its access to the airwaves.

The New World Information and Communications Order (**NWICO**) is an effort by smaller countries, through the U.N., to assert their rights to non-western dominated news and information sources.

AMARC is the French acronym for The World Association of Community Broadcasters, a UNESCO initiated project solidly run by grassroots activists in many countries, who are having their fifth world conference this year in Mexico from August 23 - 29th.

Please join us for this special opportunity on May 3rd, Sunday evening at 7pm with Ben Bagdikian. Tell others- especially younger people (high school students) who may not be yet aware of the roots and reach of the media question. Hope you can make it.

Audience Network
P.O. Box 19312, Washington D.C. 20036
Deep Dish TV 212.473.8933
339 Lafayette St. NY, NY 10012
AMARC 514.982.0351
3575 boul. St. Laurent, #704, Montreal, Quebec, H2X 2T7
Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting (F.A.I.R.) 212.633.6700
130 West 25th St. NY, NY 10001

Jim Mateson is director of Media Island International, a local non-profit information resource exchange network. He can be reached at 352.8526.

Artwork by Patrick O'Connor.

Unionized Urban Onion Workers Await Contract

Jason Wallach

On Thursday April 16, 1992, the employees at the Urban Onion voted 16 to 7, a better than two to one margin, to seek union representation. The election, which was conducted by the National Labor Relations Board, mandates that Urban Onion owners Steve and Elyse Harrington must negotiate in good faith with Hotel Employees/Restaurant Employees Local 8, the employees' representative. The vote, although an important victory, merely authenticated what employees and many Olympians have known for months: the majority of Onion employees want union representation. The owners of the Urban Onion had refused to publicly acknowledge evidence of this fact and, in turn, a boycott was called against the Urban Onion in an effort to apply pressure upon the owners to negotiate. The boycott was a success. Thanks to Olympia's support of our unionization efforts we were able to expedite this process much quicker than if we had to do it alone.

The boycott has been temporarily suspended. But we may have to re-initiate it if contract negotiations come to an impasse. The pro-Union employees at the Urban Onion want a contract that guarantees fair treatment for all employees at the restaurant, the same thing that motivated us to start seeking representation over three months ago, and we hope that the owners of the restaurant are willing to negotiate with this fairness and equity in mind.

The pro-Union employees at the Urban Onion want a contract that guarantees fair treatment for all employees at the restaurant. . .

The April 16th vote that was decided in favor of the employees is a landmark, but a redundant one at best. Real justice will have been served when we have a signed contract in our hands.

Jason is an Urban Onion employee and a member of HERE Local 8.

Bicycle Commuter Contest

The Fifth Annual Bicycle Commuter Contest is a month long event, running from May 1st to May 31st designed to encourage local workers and students to "pedal" their way to gasoline savings, a cleaner environment, and better health.

The contest will emphasize riding consistent.

Entering is easy! Simply fill out the entry form and send in the $5 entry fee today ($12 with T-shirt). You will be given a calendar on which to keep track of how often you pedal to and from work or school, plus errands on work days. Recreational rides do not count.

There will be six mileage categories too register under depending on what your round trip distance to and from work is. Prizes will be awarded to 1st, 2nd and 3rd place winners in each category. Winners will be determined by who rides the most days in the month of May, with ties going to the rider with the most miles.

There will also be a work place category. All entrants will receive a three month membership in the Capital Bicycling Club, and a 10% discount on a visit to the Blue Heron Bakery.

We ask all participants to obey traffic laws an to ride safely. Wear a helmet!

Call or stop by for more information. The Energy Outreach Center 943-4595, 503 W. 4th Ave., Olympia, WA 98501

Keep W.I.P. Alive: Subscribe and help us continue.

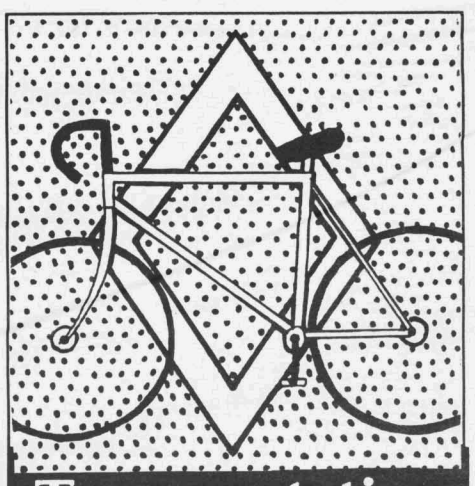
- ❑ "I read WIP" donation - $5 / $10
- ❑ Supporting donation - $15 / $20
- ❑ Supporting subscription - $25
- ❑ An Olympian matching donation
- ❑ Save postage, I'll pick it up around town.

Name:_____
Address:_____
City:_____
State:___ Zip:_____

Works In Progress, c/o TCRC, PO Box 295, Olympia, WA 98507

For advertising information call
Barb Bellettiere at 943-1141
Rates run approx. $7.50/inch
Discounts available

WIP Article submission deadline is May 20
Also on that day, there will be a WIP meeting at SPEECH at 7pm. All are encouraged to attend and get involved. Call 956-9123 for info.



Transportation Alternatives

Transportation Alternatives is a community organization working to encourage efficient, equitable and environmentally responsible transportation in Thurston County. Transportation Alternatives supports the development of a diverse transportation system, Transportation Demand Management, and land use policies that reduce automobile use.

Transportation Alternatives publishes a bimonthly newsletter covering current transportation issues. To obtain a copy of the newsletter or for more information contact Todd Litman at 956-2148.

Transportation Alternatives meets for breakfast on the fourth Thursday of each month. Next meeting:

May 28th, 7:30-9:00 am
Crackers Restaurant
downtown Olympia

ADMIT ONE

You are cordially invited to a . . .

WIP Bash!

Sunday, May 17th, 4PM

Rose Garden at Priest Point Park
(It's on the east side of East Bay Drive)

Come join us in celebrating the 25th issue of Works In Progress (Volume 3, Issue 1). This is a potluck, so bring something to share with friends, new and old. (Coffee, tea, fruit juice and utensils provided.)

#0001